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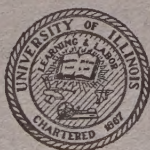
BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

SOURCE STUDIES IN AMERICAN COLONIAL EDUCATION THE PRIVATE SCHOOL

By

ROBERT FRANCIS SEYBOLT

Associate Professor of the History of Education
University of Illinois



PRICE 50 CENTS

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, URBANA
1925

The Bureau of Educational Research was established by act of the Board of Trustees June 1, 1918. It is the purpose of the Bureau to conduct original investigations in the field of education, to summarize and bring to the attention of school people the results of research elsewhere, and to be of service to the schools of the state in other ways.

The results of original investigations carried on by the Bureau of Educational Research are published in the form of bulletins. A complete list of these publications is given on the back cover of this bulletin. At the present time five or six original investigations are reported each year. The accounts of research conducted elsewhere and other communications to the school men of the state are published in the form of educational research circulars. From ten to fifteen of these are issued each year.

The Bureau is a department of the College of Education. Its immediate direction is vested in a Director, who is also an instructor in the College of Education. Under his supervision research is carried on by other members of the Bureau staff and also by graduates who are working on theses. From this point of view the Bureau of Educational Research is a research laboratory for the College of Education.

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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

In issuing this account of practices in private schools during colonial times the Bureau of Educational Research is serving merely in the capacity of publisher. The painstaking search for authentic information and the preparation of the report of the investigation is entirely the work of Professor Seybolt.

Through the publication of this bulletin, important authentic information concerning private schools in colonial America is made available. As there was no systematic attempt to preserve facts relative to our early educational history, investigations of this type render a distinct service to historians of education and to others interested in the development of our present schools. The private school has received relatively little attention in accounts of our early educational activities, but the information which Professor Seybolt presents in this bulletin demonstrates that it was an institution of considerable significance.


WALTER S. MONROE, *Director*

Bureau of Educational Research.

May 8, 1925.

PREFACE

The writer does not consider that the subject of any chapter has been exhausted. These little studies are but notes on certain aspects of private school education in colonial America. It is hoped that they may inspire some of the research that is yet to be done in this interesting and important field.



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SOURCE STUDIES IN AMERICAN COLONIAL EDUCATION

THE PRIVATE SCHOOL

CHAPTER I

THE TEACHING OF FRENCH IN COLONIAL AMERICA

The purpose of this little study is to present certain sources of information concerning the teaching of French in the American colonies. Histories, and special contributions to the history of American education either do not mention the matter, or they give the impression that the study of French did not become general until the Revolution.

In a comment on "Education in America prior to the Revolutionary War," one writer remarks that "Neither French nor German was taught in the schools of England or America."¹ An equally misleading statement informs the reader that "The Public Academy of the City of Philadelphia . . . was the first purely American school in which German and French were taught."²

The only general historical treatise which includes any reference to early instruction in French is rather categorical:

Naturally, the introduction of the European languages into our Western schools would find neither encouragement nor occasion during the colonial period. But, with independence once achieved, the new relations fixed new obligations. Such, for example, were the reciprocal influences between France and the United States in the period immediately following the American Revolution; the frequent social and

¹Goodnight, S. H. *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846* (Madison, Wis., 1907), 9. A footnote to this quotes from an address by James Russell Lowell: "For nearly two hundred years no modern language was continuously and systematically taught here . . . Whatever haphazard teaching of French there may have been was, no doubt, for the benefit of those youth of the better classes who might go abroad after taking their degrees." (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, V, 5). The original error is Lowell's. Goodnight made the mistake of accepting it as fact, without investigation.

See Seybolt, R. F. *Some Notes on the Teaching of German in Colonial Philadelphia* (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, pp. 418-421).

²Handschin, C. H. *The Teaching of Modern Languages in the United States* (U. S. Bur. Ed. Bull., 1913, No. 3), 32.

general intercourse; the growing and mutually profitably commercial interests; and the necessary and ruling diplomatic relations resulting, that the study of the French language naturally followed.³

Such a statement has only its plausibility to recommend it. If the first sentence were true, the rest of the paragraph might be acceptable. The conclusion that "the study of the French language . . . followed" the Revolution has been reached more or less syllogistically. As a matter of fact, the growing friendly relationship between France and America merely helped to extend the popularity of a language *already established* as "polite and necessary."

In the records examined, the earliest reference to the teaching of French in the American colonies occurs in a schoolmaster's license, issued "this thirteenth Day of September Anno Dom 1703," by Lord Cornbury, Governor of the Province of New York. An excerpt follows:

I doe hereby authorize and Impower you Andrew ffoucautt to teach an English and ffrench School within the City of New York and to instruct all Children where with you shall be intrusted for ye purpose in the said Languages, as alsoe in ye Art of Writeing, Arethmatick &c.⁴

Foucautt may have established his school primarily for the children of the late seventeenth century emigrés.

Another early reference to the importance of the French language in New York City appears in the Reverend John Sharpe's "Proposals for Erecting a School, Library and Chapel in New York," dated March 11, 1712. Among the "qualifications" desired in "The Person to whom the care of this School is committed," he suggests that "If he understands Dutch and French, it will be of great advantage to him."⁵ Undoubtedly, Sharpe's recommendations were influenced by the presence of an appreciable number of French, as well as Dutch, settlers.

The New York City license quoted above merely indicates the presence of a teacher of French in 1703. Documents of this sort are

³Boone, R. G. *Education in the United States* (N. Y., 1900), 170-171. This kind of reasoning is repeated in a comment, by Handschin (op. cit., 16), on Quesnay de Beaurepaire's proposal to establish a "French Academy of the Arts and Sciences of the United States of America," and Jefferson's plans for the University of Virginia: "It is but natural that these and similar movements should have aroused interest in the French language and literature."

⁴Deeds, ix, 736. Cited by Pratt, D. J. *Annals of Public Education in the State of New York* (Albany, 1872), 90.

⁵Ibid, x, 66 (Ibid, 91). On August 29, 1705, Prudent de la Fayole was licensed to keep a French school in New York City.

⁶N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1880, pp. 341-342.

too few, and too meager of content, to provide the research-student with material for an intensive study of the teaching of the language. A more satisfactory source of information is the newspaper of the period. Through this medium, the schoolmaster was enabled to advertise his establishment, and call attention to the character of the instruction that he offered.

An interesting unsigned advertisement appeared in the *New York Gazette*, in 1735:

This is to give Notice that over against the Sign of the black Horse in Smith-street, near the old Dutch Church, is carefully taught the French and Spanish Languages, after the best Method that is now practised in Great Britain which for the encouragement of those who intend to learn the same is taught for 20s per Quarter.

Note, that the said Person teaches Reading, Writing and Arithmetick, at very reasonable Terms, which is per Quarter for Readers 5s. for Writers 8s, for Cyphers 1s.⁶

Two years later, "John Hastier, Goldsmith in this City," announced that there was at his "House a Frenchman who teaches to Read and Write French as also Arithmetick in a very short Method."⁷

In Philadelphia, a teacher of this "polite tongue" appeared as early as 1722, "one Mrs. Rodes who will teach any Young Ladies or Gentlewomen to read and write French to perfection."⁸ An advertisement of the following year gives "Publick Notice" that Mrs. Rodes "will give constant Attendance at her Dwelling in Second Street, in the Alley next Door to Dr. Owens . . . from Nine in the Morning till Twelve, and in the Afternoon, if any Gentlewomen require it, at their Houses."⁹ From notices in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, we learn that John Ball, Thomas Ball, and Daniel Duborn were teaching French, in Philadelphia, in 1730.¹⁰

Boston was offered an opportunity of learning French in 1727. A proposal, by an unnamed master, to establish a "boarding school" was published in the *Boston News Letter* of that year:

⁶New York Gazette, July 14-21, 21-28, July 28-Aug. 4, 4-11, 1735.

⁷New York Weekly Journal, June 27, July 4, 25, Aug. 1, 1737.

⁸American Weekly Mercury, May 16-23, 1722.

⁹Ibid, May 16-23, June 6-13, June 27-July 4, 1723.

¹⁰Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 19-24, 1730.

Ibid, May 5-13, 1730.

Ibid, May 28-June 4, 1730.

In his "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania," Benjamin Franklin recommends the study of French for "All intended for . . . Physick . . . Law . . . Merchants." (Ibid, Aug. 24, 1749) French appears in the first curriculum of the Philadelphia Academy, 1751 (Ibid, Dec. 18, 1750), and in Provost Smith's plan of studies, 1756: "Thro' all the Years the French Language may be studied at leisure Hours." (Ibid, Aug. 12, 1756)

He doth propose to keep an Usher, and to Teach Writing, Cyphering, Latin, French, Geography &c. so that Young People in the same Place may Learn what they are feign to Learn now in several Places. He designs that Latin & French shall be spoken in his House by turns every Month; which practical way of Learning & Teaching will save them Three Quarters of the Time they spend now in Learning only in the Common Schools and Books.¹¹

The well-known Louis Langloiserie appeared three years later. In 1730, he published his first notice:

Mr. Louis Langloiserie having obtained leave from the Gentlemen, the Select Men of the Town of Boston to keep a School for Teaching the Rudiments of the French Tongue. These are therefore to acquaint all Persons that are inclined, and such as are disposed to send their Children to learn that Language, that the said Louis Langloiserie now dwells at Mr. Green's Printer in Queen Street Boston, where he teaches School.¹²

Announcements of the next eight years indicate that he received the "encouragement" that he sought.¹³ He was not so successful, however, as Professor of French at Harvard College. Appointed in 1735, he was dismissed in the same year for disseminating "dangerous views."

Charleston, South Carolina, in 1744, was enjoying instruction by John Fouquet, who taught "French, English, Writing, and Arithmetic;"¹⁴ and, in 1754, by Samuel Terron, who advertised a similar offering of subjects.¹⁵ William Clajon established a school at Annapolis, Maryland, in 1754, in which he offered French, Latin and English.¹⁶

¹¹Boston News Letter, Jan. 26-Feb. 2, 1727.

A few works in French were published in Boston before 1727: Cotton Mather, *Le vrai Patron de Saines Paroles*, 1704 (Mather, Samuel. *The Life of Cotton Mather*. Boston, 1729. p. 167); *Ibid*, *Grande Voix du Ciel à la France sous La Verge de Dieu*, 1721 (Cotton Mather's Diary, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 7th Series, VIII, 651); *A. B. C. des Chrétiens*, 1711 (Evans, C. *American Bibliography*. Chicago, 1903-14. I, no. 1493); John Hill, *De par son excellence M. Jean Hill, Général & Commandant en chef les troupes de sa Majesté Britannique en Amerique*, 1711. A broadside. (*Ibid*, I, no. 1498)

The Boston News Letter, Feb. 6-13, 1715, advertises the sale of "a Valuable Collection of Books . . . History . . . Belles Lettres, in Latin, English and French."

Thomas Blair, *Some Short and Easy Rules, Teaching the True Pronunciation of the French Language*, 1720. (Evans, C. *Amer. Bibliog.*, I., no. 2096)

¹²Boston Gazette, Oct. 19-26, Oct. 26-Nov. 2, 2-9, 9-16, 1730.

New England Weekly Journal, Nov. 2, 16, 1730.

¹³Boston Gazette, July 8-15, 15-22, 22-29, 1734.

Ibid, Dec. 12-19, 1737; Jan. 2-9, 1738.

Ibid, June 12-19, 1738.

New England Weekly Journal, July 18, 1738.

¹⁴South Carolina Gazette, Nov. 12, 19, 1744.

¹⁵*Ibid*, May 3-7, 1754.

¹⁶Maryland Gazette, Nov. 4, 1754.

Ibid, Apr. 28, 1757.

The records indicate that there were two types of schools in which French was taught. One offered instruction in a varied program of subjects. In the other, tuition was given in French only.

Schools of the first type may be represented by the one advertised in the *New York Gazette*, July 14-21, 1735. Here, we find a master advertising instruction in "The French and Spanish Languages," and "Reading, Writing, and Arithmetick." John Ball, in Philadelphia, in 1730, taught "WRITING and ARITHMETIC together with the FRENCH TONGUE," and Thomas Britt, in Boston, 1757, "Reading, Writing, Vulgar and Decimal Arithmetick, and French."¹⁷ Samuel Terron, of Charleston, S. C., 1754, gave instruction in "FRENCH, ENGLISH, Writing, and Arithmetick," and Stephen Biddurph, of Savannah, Georgia, 1774, in "Latin, English, French and Celtic Languages."¹⁸ In John Clarke's school, in New York City, 1749, French was offered in combination with "Reading, Writing, Vulgar and Decimal Arithmetick, the Extraction of the Square and Cube Root, Navigation, Surveying... Spanish... Book-keeping after the true Italian Method,"¹⁹ and in Michael C. Knoll's school, New York, 1750, in combination with "Latin... Greek, and Hebrew, and Philosophy, and... Merchant's Accounts after the Italian Fashion."²⁰ The advertisements indicate that such schools were numerous throughout the eighteenth century. Not only were they in greater demand than the schools in which one subject was taught, but it was also true that most masters could not afford to teach one subject only.

¹⁷Boston Gazette and Country Journal, May 2, 9, 1757. Thomas Britt.

Ibid, Oct. 24, 31, 1768. James Coan.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Jan. 15-22, Feb. 25-Mar. 4, 1736. An unnamed Philadelphia master.

Ibid, Jan. 7, Aug. 13, 1752; Apr. 12, June 28, 1753. "Mr. Dove, English Professor at the Academy."

Ibid, Feb. 4, 18, 1755. James Cosgrove.

Ibid, Mar. 25, 1766. Adelbert Ebert.

Ibid, Mar. 5, 1772. Thomas Powell, of Burlington, N. J.

¹⁸Georgia Gazette, Mar. 2, 1774.

Maryland Gazette, July 11, 1763. William Cheatam.

¹⁹New York Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, Dec. 4, 11, 18, 1749; Jan. 1, 1750. John Clarke styled himself "Philomath."

Ibid, Jan. 21, 28, 1751. Garrat Noel.

²⁰Ibid, Aug. 6, 13, 1750.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Connecticut, New Jersey, Hudson's River, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, May 5, June 16, 1774. Joseph Cozani.

Ibid, Oct. 6, 1774. Messrs. Gollen, and Mountain.

There were relatively few schools in which French alone was taught. In Philadelphia, Daniel Duborn, in 1730, Odran Dupuy, in 1735, and Charles Vignolles, in 1754, taught French only.²¹ John Philipse, of New York City, 1757,²² and M. Delile, of Boston, Cambridge, and Providence, 1773, also limited their instruction to "the French Language."²³ Some of these schools were patronised by adults only; in others, there were separate classes for adults and children. Louis Langloiserie, of Boston, 1730, gave instruction in "the Rudiments of the French Tongue" to "all Persons that are inclined," and to "Children" who might be sent to him.²⁴ In 1734, Langloiserie addressed his notice to "young Gentlemen," and "young Ladies,"²⁵ and in 1738, he set apart certain days and hours for "Children."²⁶ A New York City notice of May 31, 1756, informs us "That Peter Durand, lately from Holland, intends to teach Gentlemen and Ladies to read and write French."²⁷ William Clajon, also of New York, in 1761, announced that "He takes no Children . . . He . . . undertakes to teach no others but such as are both willing and capable of Improvement and is determined not to sacrifice his Honour and Character, either to the Caprice of Children or to the Lavishness of some Parents."²⁸

Although the terms "school," and "academy" appear frequently in the advertisements, the average master kept school "at his House," or "at the House" in which he resided. In 1736, Mrs. Collins kept school "in Mr. Loring's House in Long Lane near the Meeting-

²¹Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 4-11, 11-18, 18-25, Mar. 4-11, 1735. "Odran Dupuy, next Door to the Bell in Arch-street on Monday last opened a FRENCH SCHOOL Where whoever inclines to learn the French Language, may be taught it on reasonable Terms."

Ibid, July 11, 1754. Charles Vignolles.

Ibid, June 11, 18, July 2, 16, 23, 1752. Peter Papin de Prefontaine.

Ibid, May 31, June 14, 1759. Horne.

²²N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Oct. 17, 24, Nov. 21, 28, 1751.

Ibid, Mar. 20, July 3, 1758. An unnamed teacher of French.

²³Newport Mercury, Aug. 23, 30, 1773.

Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News Letter, Mar. 3, 1774. Francis Vandale.

²⁴Boston Gazette, Oct. 19-26, Oct. 26-Nov. 2, 2-9, 9-16, 1730; New England Weekly Journal, Nov. 2, 16, 1730.

Boston News Letter, Mar. 18-25, Mar. 25-Apr. 2, 8-15, 1735. Mrs. Collins.

²⁵Boston Gazette, July 8-15, 15-22, 22-29, 1734.

²⁶Ibid, June 12-19, 1738; New Eng. Weekly Journal, July 18, 1738.

²⁷N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 31, 1756.

²⁸N. Y. Mercury, Nov. 2, 1761.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Sept. 1, 18, 25, 1777. Teniere.

Ibid, May 27, 1782. John H. Hentz.

House," in Boston.²⁹ and John Eliot, of Philadelphia, in 1744, taught "at his Lodgings."³⁰ An advertisement of 1730 informs us that "Louis Langloiserie now dwells at Mr. Green's Printer in Queen Street where he teaches school."³¹ In 1734, he announced that he "will keep his French School three Days in the Week at Cambridge, and Three Days in Boston at the House of Mr. Benjamin Bridge in King Street."³² Reinhold Jan Klockhoff, in 1751, taught "at the House of Mr. Bratt, wherein the Widow of Mr. J. P. Zenger now lives, upon Golden-Hill, in New York."³³ William Clajon, in 1761, opened "his School at the House of Mrs. Boskirk. . . in Dock Street," New York City,³⁴ and in 1764, "at the House of Mr. Samuel Israel over against the Queen's Head Tavern."³⁵ On May 19, 1766, he announced that "the Minister and Elders of the French Church, desirous to encourage a French-School, have granted me Leave to teach in their Consistory Room, situate in the Yard of that Church."³⁶ Francis Daymon, of Philadelphia, in 1771, gave notice that "those who choose to attend his regular class. . . will be waited upon at the *French Academy*. . . at his own House, in Front-Street."³⁷

The Rev. Mr. Frederic Rothenbuhler, of New York City, in 1762, seems to have kept a more pretentious establishment, a "French Boarding School," in which "young Gentlemen and Ladies may be boarded by him, agreeable to their rank; to instruct them in whatever is necessary for the finishing of their Education."³⁸ In New York City, in 1774, Mrs. Cozani, and the Rev. J. Peter Tetard, each kept a "French Boarding School."³⁹ Mrs. Brodeau, on Dec. 5, 1776, advised "her Friends" that "she has opened a BOARDING SCHOOL, in Walnut-street," Philadelphia, "where young Ladies will be gen-

²⁹Boston News Letter, Mar. 18-25, Mar. 25-Apr. 2, 8-15, 1736.

³⁰Pennsylvania Gazette. Sept. 27, Oct. 4, 11, 1744.

³¹Boston Gazette, Oct. 19-26, Oct. 26-Nov. 2, 2-9, 9-16, 1730.

³²Ibid, July 8-15, 15-22, 22-29, 1734.

³³N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, Apr. 12, 1751.

³⁴N. Y. Mercury, Jan. 26, Nov. 2, 1761.

³⁵N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Oct. 25, Nov. 1, 15, 22, 1764.

³⁶N. Y. Mercury, May 19, 26, 1766.

³⁷Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 5, 1771.

³⁸N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, July 8, 1762.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 14, 21, 28, Feb. 4, 11, 1771. J. and M. Tanner: "Young Ladies boarded on reasonable Terms."

³⁹N. Y. Journal or the General Advertiser, Feb. 17, 1774. J. Peter Tetard.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, July 21, 1774. Mrs. Joseph Cozani.

Ibid, Apr. 21, 28, 1774. Simeon, and Catherine Lugin: "Boarding and Day School for young Ladies."

teelly boarded, and taught to read and speak the French and English Languages.”⁴⁰ Many French boarding-schools appeared in the cities, during the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

Information concerning the qualifications of the masters is fairly abundant. Many of them were Frenchmen,⁴¹ and advertised themselves as “natives of France,”⁴² or as “just arrived here from Paris.”⁴³ A New York schoolmaster, of 1757, called attention to the fact that he had “made his Tour through France.”⁴⁴ Thomas Egan, of New York City, in 1780, advertised that his “residence for many years in some of the first compting-houses in France enables him to assure those Gentlemen and Ladies who please to receive his instructions that they will not be disappointed in his abilities.”⁴⁵ Advertisements of another form announced that certain masters had “taught the French Language in this City,” or elsewhere, “for a few

⁴⁰Pennsylvania Gazette, Jan. 17, 1776.

Essex Gazette, July 12-19, 1774. Salem, Massachusetts: “Boarding for young Ladies . . . French.”

⁴¹N. Y. Weekly Journal, June 27, July 4, 25, Aug. 1, 1737. “a Frenchman.” Names like Bechades, Brodeau, Clajon, Delile, De la Roche, De Prefontaine, Duchee, Durand, Folquier, Fouquet, Girault, Guerbois, Haumaid, Langloiserie, Lugin, Philipse, Teniere, Tetard, and Vignolles appear frequently in the advertisements.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 12, 26, 1783. “A FRENCH Gentleman.”

⁴²Rivington’s N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Apr. 21, 28, 1774.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 29, Feb. 5, 12, Oct. 1, 8, 1770. “John Girault, A Native of France, lately arrived in this City.”

N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 18, 1772. “A Gentleman, Native of Paris.”

⁴³Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 29, 1770. Francis Daymon: “A Frenchman, newly come from Paris.”

Ibid, July 13, Aug. 10, 1774. “lately arrived from Paris.”

N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, Nov. 6, 27, 1752. “John Baptiste Guerbois just arrived here from Paris.”

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, July 22, Aug. 19, 1771. “Michael Bechades from Paris.”

American Weekly Mercury, June 10-17, 17-24, June 24-July 1, 1736. “John Salomon from Paris.”

⁴⁴N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Oct. 17, 24, Nov. 21, 28, Dec. 19, 1757.

⁴⁵N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 10, 1780.

Rivington’s N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, July 22, Aug. 12, Dec. 9, 16, 1773. Anthony Fiva “resided many years in Paris and Madrid.”

Ibid, Apr. 27, May 4, 1775. Monsieur De Saint Pry possessed “a knowledge of the principles of universal grammar, a pure and elegant pronounciation of French, acquired by a long residence in the capital.”

Years.”⁴⁶ The Rev. J. Peter Tetard, of New York, in 1774, assumed that his “Character and Capacity are well known, he having lived with Credit in the City of New York for upwards of fifteen Years; So that Gentlemen who will entrust him with the Education of their Children may depend on their Expectations being properly answered.”⁴⁷

Some of the masters appear to have been well qualified morally, and intellectually. A few were ministers, or ex-ministers.⁴⁸ In 1770, John Girault, of New York City, “A Native of France,” advised “the Public” that “He has brought with him ample Certificates of his Character, from the Consistory of a Protestant Congregation at Poitou in France, where he was an Elder, and from the Consistory of a French Church in London where he resided for several Years.”⁴⁹ Mrs. Brodeau, of Philadelphia, in 1776, was fortunate enough to secure the recommendation of two of the most eminent men in that city; “Any Person desirous of Information concerning the Character and Recommendation of Mrs. Brodeau, may apply to either of us, ROBERT MORRIS, B. FRANKLIN.”⁵⁰ William Clajon, of New York, in 1761, “in order to satisfy those Gentlemen and Ladies who desire to be taught the French Language grammatically; and with a true Pronunciation,” was “examined at the College in this City by the Revd. Mr. Carle Minister of the French Church, and the Revd. Mr. Testart, another French Minister, in the Presence of the Revd.

⁴⁶N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Mar. 2, 1772. Francis H. De La Roche. Rivington's N. Y. Gazette, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Dec. 22, 1774. Anthony Fiva, “for these two years past has taught the French, Spanish, and Italian languages in this City constantly with equal Success.”

Ibid, Oct. 26, Nov. 9, 16, 1775. Francis Vandale “taught French and other languages with good success, in Boston and Newport in Rhode Island.”

⁴⁷N. Y. Journal or General Advertiser, Feb. 17, 1774.

Pennsylvania Gazette, and Weekly Advertiser, Apr. 4, 11, 1777. James Robins advertised himself as “a native of Paris, who has resided in Philadelphia above twelve years.”

⁴⁸N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, Aug. 6, 13, 1750. Michael Christian Knoll, former “Minister of the Lutheran Church here.”

N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Nov. 26, Dec. 3, 1752. “the Rev'd John Lewis Mayor.”

Ibid, July 8, 1762. “The Rev. Mr. Frederic Rothenbuhler, Minister of the Switzer Church.”

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Sept. 7, 14, Oct. 5, 1772. “the Revd. J. Peter Tetard, late Minister of the Reformed French Church in this City.”

⁴⁹N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 29, Feb. 5, 12, Oct. 1, 8, 1770.

⁵⁰Pennsylvania Gazette, Jan. 17, 1776. “Mrs. Brodeau hopes to prove by her Assiduity and Attention to the Morals and Behavior of those Ladies entrusted to her Care, that she in some Measure merits the Recommendation she has been favoured with from her native Country.”

Doctor Johnson, President of the College, and fully satisfied them of his Capacity."⁵¹ An unknown Philadelphia Master, of 1774, informed "the Public" that he had "lately arrived from France, where he has made his Studies, and taken out his Letters of Master of Arts."⁵² Another unknown master, of New York City, in 1772, advertised himself as "A Gentleman, Native of Paris, who took the Degree of Master of Arts at that University, and lately taught in Nassau Hall, New Jersey."⁵³ Anthony Fiva, who taught French, Spanish, and Italian, in New York City, during the years 1772-1775, also "had an academical education."⁵⁴ John Haumaid, of New York, in 1772, thought "it unnecessary to say anything respecting his abilities as a teacher, as the bare mention of his having under his tuition the principal students of King's College, as well as a number of ladies and gentlemen who before made some advances in this polite language, together with his having a regular education, fully bespeaks his abilities as a teacher of the same."⁵⁵ "A French Gentleman," of Philadelphia, in 1783, announced that "It does not become him to vaunt his own abilities, but he flatters himself the progress of his scholars will convince them that he is not ill qualified for the undertaking."⁵⁶

The newspapers contain a brief but fairly adequate statement of the aim of instruction in these schools. In 1723, Mrs. Rodes, of Philadelphia, proposed to "teach any young Ladies or Gentlewomen to read & write French to perfection."⁵⁷ Mrs. Brodeau, of Philadelphia, in 1776, advised her patrons that "young Ladies will be . . . taught to read and speak the French and English Languages."⁵⁸ William Clajon, of New York City, in 1761, announced that it was his "design . . . to perform within Six Months what he promises

⁵¹N. Y. Mercury, Jan. 26, Nov. 2, 1761. King's College, now Columbia Univ. N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Nov. 26, Dec. 3, 10, 17, 1753. "French, Latin and Greek to be taught at Mrs. Lyneal's in Beaver-Street, by fit Persons."

⁵²Pennsylvania Gazette, July 13, Aug. 10, 1774.

⁵³N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 18, 1772. Now Princeton Univ.

⁵⁴Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, July 22, Aug. 12, Dec. 9, 16, 1773. Fiva "is therefore able to resolve any question that might puzzle his scholars."

⁵⁵N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Sept. 21, 1772.

⁵⁶Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 12, 26, 1783.

⁵⁷American Weekly Mercury, May 16-23, June 6-13, June 27-July 4, 1723.

⁵⁸N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 31, 1756. Peter Durand: "to read and write French."

⁵⁹Pennsylvania Gazette, Jan. 17, 1776.

Ibid, June 11, 18, July 2, 16, 23, 1752. P. P. de Prefontaine: "to render them proficient in that polite language, in a short time."

to do, viz, to give a true Pronunciation to his Scholars, to enable them to translate French into English, and English into French, so as to fit them to improve afterwards without any other Help, than the Method he will advise them to take."⁵⁹ In 1773, Anthony Fiva, of New York, proposed to "entirely ground them in the true accent . . . and all the Rules of the syntax,"⁶⁰ and, in his advertisement of the following year, "to enable his pupils in a short time to carry on an epistolary correspondence, so useful particularly to young persons in business."⁶¹

A description of the methods of teaching French must be somewhat incomplete. Only a few of the advertisements indicate the methods employed, and the fragmentary nature of the material leaves much to be inferred. Most of the masters announced merely that they would teach the language "correctly and expeditiously," "in the most expeditious Manner," or "in the most perfect and easy Manner."⁶² An unknown New York City master, of 1735, taught French "after the best Method that is now practised in Great Britain;"⁶³ and Anthony Fiva, of New York, in 1774, "after the manner of academies, universities, and colleges of the learned world."⁶⁴ John Philipse, of the same city, in 1758, assured his students that they "may depend upon being taught in the most modern and Expeditious method, and according to Mr. Paillaret's

⁵⁹N. Y. Mercury, Jan. 26, Nov. 2, 1761.

⁶⁰Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, July 22, Aug. 12, Dec. 9, 16, 1773.

⁶¹Ibid, May 19, 26, 1774.

Ibid, Mar. 23, 30, 1775. Messieurs Du Poke, and De Saint Pry "teach the French language . . . so that the scholars of the least aptitude, in the course of six months, may be sufficiently acquainted with the rudiments of the language, pronounce and write it with delicacy and propriety."

⁶²N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, Oct. 26, 1747. Augustus Vaughan.

N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, July 8, 1752. "The Rev. Mr. Frederic Rothenbuhler . . . continues teaching young Gentlemen and Ladies the Latin and French Languages as usual, with great Facility, in a short Time, to the utmost possible Perfection."

American Weekly Mercury, Jan. 22-29, 1734. "French taught in a Plain and Easy Method at Anthony Duchee's, in Front-Street, Philadelphia."

Ibid, June 10-17, 17-24, June 24-July 1, 1736. John Salomon: "after the most easy and concise Method."

Pennsylvania Gazette, July 11, 1754. Charles Vignolles: "The FRENCH LANGUAGE taught in the most easy and familiar method."

Ibid, May 10, 1780. Jastram: "to teach the French and English Languages by Principles."

⁶³N. Y. Gazette, July 14-21, 21-28, July 28-Aug. 4, 4-11, 1735.

⁶⁴Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Dec. 22, 1774.

System; who had the Honour of teaching the Royal Family."⁶⁵ Michael Bechades, of New York, in 1771, had a "particular Method by which a Person may in Three Months speak it with ease."⁶⁶ A Boston master, of 1727, proposed "that Latin & French shall be spoken in his House by turns every Month; which practical way of Learning will save them Three Quarters of the Time they spend now in Learning only in the Common Schools and Books."⁶⁷

More definite information is supplied by Peter Papin de Prefontaine, of Philadelphia, in 1758, who "taught the French Language grammatically,"⁶⁸ and John Girault, of New York City, in 1772, "who instructs his pupils in all the variations of this polite tongue, after the rules of the Academy at Paris."⁶⁹ In 1756, James John Folquier, of Philadelphia, taught French "after the best Method of Pronunciation, and the Manner of speaking it which is now used among the French."⁷⁰ William Clajon, of New York City, in 1761, informs us that "not more than six nor less than four can be in a class, and after a Class has begun, another Person cannot be taken into it, as it would retard the Progress of the Rest."⁷¹ In 1766, he announced that "My method shall be varied so as to suit the

⁶⁵N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Jan. 30, Feb. 6, 20, Mar. 6, 1758.

⁶⁶N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, July 22, Aug. 19, 1771.

Boston Gazette, July 8-15, 15-22, 22-29, 1734. Louis Langloiserie "will endeavor such a Method as may not only bring the Learner into as speedy an acquaintance as possible with the French Tongue, but at the same time lead them into the Knowledge of some agreeable parts of History."

⁶⁷Boston News Letter, Jan. 28-Feb. 2, 1727.

⁶⁸Pennsylvania Gazette, Mar. 23, Apr. 20, 1758.

N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, Aug. 26, Sept. 2, 16, 23, 1751. Jan Paulus Ostome, of New York City, taught "the French Language . . . according to the best Grammar Rules."

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 14, 21, 28, Feb. 4, 11, 1771. J. and M. Tanner: "the English and French Languages grammatically."

Ibid, Apr. 22, 29, May 6, 1771. Mrs. Mary Pack: "the French and English Languages grammatically."

⁶⁹Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Sept. 16, 23, Oct. 7, 14, 1773.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 21, Apr. 28, Sept. 5, 1771; Ibid, Nov. 17, 1773. Francis Daymon "will continue . . . to instruct . . . in the newest and most expeditious Method, agreeable to the latest Improvements of the French Academy."

⁷⁰Pennsylvania Gazette, June 3, 1756.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Apr. 21, 28, 1774. In Simeon and Catherine Lugin's "Boarding and Day School for young Ladies," in New York City. "The polite French Language, which is constantly spoken in the family, being now-a-days part of the education of young ladies, will . . . be taught grammatically by Mr. and Mrs. Lugin, with that accent and pronunciation peculiar to the natives of France."

Ibid, July 21, 1774. Mrs. Cozani: "to write and translate one language into another."

⁷¹N. Y. Mercury, Jan. 26, Nov. 2, 1761.

learner's views, age, &c. taking care to give but few rules properly exemplified."⁷² In Francis Daymon's advertisement of Oct. 3, 1771, Philadelphia, we find the following interesting item: "In order to continue and still more excite that laudable ardor, which has appeared in a considerable number, Mr. Daymon proposes to bestow a Gold Medal in the beginning of May next, to that scholar, who shall, in the presence of competent Judges, translate English into French with the greatest facility, and who shall be best acquainted with the idioms and genius of that language."⁷³

The teaching methods of most masters included the use of books, although the advertisements make but few references to the matter. Michael Bechades, of New York City, in 1771, informed prospective students that he had "the choicest set of French books of every kind;"⁷⁴ and Francis Daymon, of Philadelphia, in the same year, that "He has received by one of the last ships, from London, a choice collection of French, &c. books, very suitable for his scholars. 300 more vols. are expected by the next vessel."⁷⁵ Apparently, William Clajon, of New York, got into difficulty, during the first year of his teaching, because he was not supplied with certain texts. His embarrassment may be inferred from the following notice:

William Clajon who began last Winter to teach the French Language, in this City, having been disappointed on account of those books he thought best calculated for his method of teaching, and being told by all those he had been acquainted with that his not being properly encouraged was entirely owing to the above disappointment; Therefore in the daily Expectation of those books now imported in the late vessels by Mr. Rivington, he has continued here, notwithstanding many inconveniences.⁷⁶

It may be appropriate, at this point, to reproduce a New York City bookstore advertisement of 1771:

Those who teach, or want to learn the French language, may be supplied at Noel and Hazerd's Book-Store, next Door to the Merchant's Coffee House, with Boyer's and Perrin's Grammar, Chambaud's and do's Exercises, Perrin's Spelling Book, do's Guide, do's Vademecum, do's Verbs, being a Collection of French Verbs, both regular and irregular, disposed in one Sheet of Paper.

⁷²N. Y. Mercury, May 19, 26, 1766. "Inflexibly determined to dismiss those whom advice and gentleness cannot reclaim, I have devised several means to inspire Emulation, and doubt not that when my school is known to be established on that footing, a liberal sense of shame will work on the scholars more efficaciously than severer Usage."

⁷³Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 3, 1771.

⁷⁴N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, July 22, Aug. 19, 1771.

⁷⁵Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 5, 1771.

⁷⁶N. Y. Mercury, Nov. 2, 1761.

Boyer's, D'Alembert's, and Nugent's Dictionaries, French Testaments, Epistolary Correspondence in French and English, Telemaque, Oeconomy of Human Life, etc.⁷⁷

From notices of earlier date, we learn that Boyer's French and English Dictionary, Boyer's Grammar, Chambaud's Grammar, Chambaud's Vocabulary, Rudiments and Exercises, and Rogissard's Grammar were in use at the middle of the century.⁷⁸

To supplement the texts, several masters devised digests, or "Vocabularies," for the use of their students. One of the earliest of these short-cuts was Thomas Blair's "Some Short and Easy Rules, Teaching the True Pronunciation of the French Language," published in Boston, 1720. Another was composed by Thomas Ball, of Philadelphia, in 1730:

For the more speedy Instruction of his Scholars he has calculated the following Tables, viz. 1. A Table for knowing the Gender of Nouns by their Terminations. 2. A Table for the forming of Tenses. 3. A Table of all the irregular Verbs. 4. A Table representing the Terminations of the simpler Tenses of Verbs. Which Tables, together with a nice Explanation of all the French particles (now in the Press) will be of great Use to those who have a desire to learn a Language so necessary and polite.⁷⁹

In 1756, Peter Papin de Prefontaine, of Philadelphia, proposed to print

By SUBSCRIPTION, A DIRECT GUIDE to the French Language, Containing

1. Some certain Rules for Pronunciation. 2. The two auxiliary Verbs, Avoir and Etre; and how they are to be turned throughout all their Tenses, both with and without Particles; Together with easy Sentences relating thereto, by Way of Improvement. 3. A large Collection of the most useful Verbs, every one showing its Particle-passive in another Column. 4. A choice collection of Nouns, both Adjectives and Substantives, with proper Directions how the first are compared, and in what Manner the Articles must be used, as to Case, Gender and Number. 5. All the irregular Verbs conjugated at large, throughout all the Moods and Tenses.

⁷⁷N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Oct. 28, 1771.

⁷⁸American Weekly Mercury, June 20-27, 1734: "to be Sold by Andrew Bradford . . . Boyer's French Grammar."

Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 2, 1746. The "French School Books" sold by Benjamin Franklin included "Boyer's Grammar; Blair's Ditto; Boyer's Dictionary; Sterling's Cordery; French Testaments; Palairer's Arts and Sciences, French and English; Cambray's Tales and Fables, Ditto; History of England, Ditto."

N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Apr. 29, 1754. "Boyer's Dictionary, French and English" appears in a New York City book list.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Mar. 25, Apr. 8, 1756. David Hall sold: "Boyer's Dictionary, Telemaque, Chambaud's, Boyer's and Rogissard's French Grammars, Chambaud's Vocabulary, Rudiments and Exercises."

Ibid, Jan. 21, Feb. 11, 1784. "John Perrin's Grammar of the French Tongue. Grounded upon the Decisions of the French Academy; wherein all the necessary Rules, Observations and Examples are exhibited in a manner entirely new."

⁷⁹Pennsylvania Gazette, Mar. 5-12, 1730.

6. Directions how the reflexive Verbs must be turned, as well as conjugated, not only through the simple, but also the Compound Tenses. 7. When to make use of the Articles *de* and *a*, and when to make use of the Preposition *pour*. As also a Collection of useful Adverbs, Nouns-Substantive, Dialogues, a Taste of Poetry, and new French Songs. The Directions so plain, that any Person of moderate Capacity may thereby become Master of said Language, with but little Assistance, if any; the like never before printed, even in Europe.⁸⁰

Newspapers of later date do not indicate whether this "GUIDE" was ever published. A somewhat similar chart was actually published, and sold by Francis Daymon, of Philadelphia, in 1770. His notice follows:

Elegantly printed, on a whole sheet, for the use of his scholars and others. The Conjugations of French verbs, grounded on the decision of the French Academy; the regular and irregular verbs are alphabetically conjugated with figures and preliminary observations, in an entire new, plain and easy manner, being the best help to translate all the tenses of the French verbs into English, and those of English into French, the English being annexed, not only to the infinitives and participles, but to all moods and tenses, as may be seen in the conjugation of the auxiliary verbs, and by an easy reference to the figures for all the irregular ones; Principally calculated for those who are taught privately, to avoid the tedious learning of all the verbs, showing at one view (without a motion of the hand) the moods and tenses, so that a learner, or writer may not mistake them, even without his having ever learned the verbs, provided he can read French, and will mind the figures. *Price* 1s. 6d.⁸¹

Tuition fees were not uniform throughout the colonies. Unfortunately, for our purposes, most advertisements do not mention the rates. In some cases they may have been determined by agreement between masters and students. The type statement of terms may be illustrated by the following: "will agree on reasonable terms," "at a very reasonable Price," and "on very moderate terms."⁸² John Ball, of Philadelphia, in 1730, taught "WRITING and ARITHMETIC together with the FRENCH TONGUE at Twenty Shillings per Quarter."⁸³ An unknown master of New York City, in 1735, gave instruction in "the French and Spanish Languages . . . for 20s.

⁸⁰Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 28, Nov. 11, 1756.

⁸¹Ibid, Dec. 20, 1770.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, Apr. 27, May 4, 1774. Monsieur De Saint Pry, of New York City, "begs leave to add, that he has composed an English and French Grammar, on a plan entirely new, by which he flatters himself, he shall be able to give his pupils an extensive knowledge of that universal language in six months."

⁸²Ibid, Feb. 4-11, 11-18, 18-25, Mar. 4-11, 1735. "on reasonable Terms."

Ibid, Apr. 5, 26, 1759. "very reasonable."

N. Y. Weekly Journal, June 27, July 2, 25, Aug. 1, 1737. "will agree on reasonable Terms."

N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, July 8, 1762. "at a very reasonable Price."

⁸³Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 19-24, 1730.

per Quarter.”⁸⁴ In 1738, Louis Langloiserie, of Boston, taught French alone “at the Rate of Twenty Shillings per Quarter.”⁸⁵ It is probable that John Ball charged twenty shillings for each subject, but this is not indicated by the advertisement. John Fouquet, of Charleston, S. C., in 1744, charged “40s. per Month” for instruction in French only,⁸⁶ and an unknown Philadelphia master of 1783, “FORTY SHILLINGS per Quarter.”⁸⁷ Francis Vandale, of New York City, in 1775, taught “French and other languages . . . at very reasonable rates,” i. e. £2 “a piece ($\frac{1}{2}$ entrance) a quarter.”⁸⁸ In the same city, in Mrs. Cozani’s “French Boarding School,” of 1774, the fee included all costs; “Ladies will be boarded and educated at forty pounds a year.”⁸⁹ William Clajon, of New York City, in 1766, taught “for 24s. per Month, and 24s. entrance, those of riper Years who incline to learn the French Language.”⁹⁰ This, Clajon tells us, represents a reduction from his former rates; “His Friends having persuaded him that he might expect greater Encouragement, should he reduce it, though a good Number of Scholars had agreed with him in the old Terms.” In another announcement of the same year, he “gives Notice” that “Gentlemen who will meet to the Number of five, to be taught together in one Class, will be taught still cheaper.”⁹¹ Custom demanded that all fees be paid in advance, but many of Clajon’s students seem to have neglected this matter, and as a result he was unable to pay his own bills. He tells the story of his “difficulties” in an advertisement of 1766. The account follows:

Above five years ago, when I came to this City, every one of my scholars had agreed to pay each Month beforehand; but unfortunately, I have not strictly enforced that rule; the consequence was, that I have been arrested, when the money due me for teaching could have over-paid all my debts; and after a long confinement, and a much longer time still before I could obtain a Letter of Licence, I was more encumbered than before, whilst those who were indebted to me, having left this City, I have lost even the most distant prospect of payment. I hope therefore that far from being offended at my insisting now on the terms proposed five years ago, the judicious will approve the reasonableness and necessity of every Scholar’s paying beforehand, each Month or Quarter, according as he agrees either by the Month or Quarter. The Custom is followed in most places abroad, and many are the good effects resulting from it.

⁸⁴N. Y. Gazette, July 14-21, 21-28, July 28-Aug. 4, 4-11, 1735.

⁸⁵Boston Gazette, June 12-19, 1738; New Eng. Weekly Journal, July 18, 1738.

⁸⁶South Carolina Gazette, Nov. 12, 19, 1744.

⁸⁷Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 17, Oct. 8, 1783.

⁸⁸Rivington’s N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Oct. 26, Nov. 9, 16, 1775.

⁸⁹Ibid. July 21, 1774.

⁹⁰N. Y. Mercury, May 19, 26, 1766.

⁹¹N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Feb. 6, 1766.

My ambition being to extricate myself by industry, and an unwearied application, from my present undeserved difficulties, the public may depend on my doing my utmost to deserve encouragement.⁹²

In some cases the masters may have found it necessary to supplement their incomes from tuition-fees, by engaging in remunerative employments outside of school-hours. It is not unusual to find court officials, attorneys, merchants, and others employing teachers of languages as translators. John Clarke's advertisement of 1749 contains the information that French and Spanish were "translated and taught, and sufficient Security given to keep all Writings secret."⁹³ Thomas Ross, in 1754, announced that "translations are done from any of the aforesaid languages," French, Low Dutch, and Latin.⁹⁴ From William Clajon's notice of 1764 we learn that "He translates English into French and French into English, and hopes the many Gentlemen he has endeavored to oblige heretofore, who have been pleased to express their approbation of his Translations, and who have tried his Secrecy, will recommend and employ him, now that he makes it a Branch of his Profession."⁹⁵ Anthony Fiva, in 1773, also translated "from any one of said languages (French, Italian, and Spanish) into the English, or either of the two others with accuracy, dispatch, and secrecy for attorneys, merchants, &c."⁹⁶ Jacob Lawn, in 1783, translated "the German, French, and English languages."⁹⁷

A few masters sold books, and miscellaneous merchandise. Mrs. Rodes, in 1722, advertised that "She hath a very good Orange Oyl to dispose of by the Quarter of a Pound or Ounce; the said Oyl being good for the Wind-Colic and Stomach, and fit for many other Things. And likewise Sweet-Meats, as Lemon and Orange Peel, very well made; it will be disposed of by the Pound, Half-Pound, or Quarter

⁹²N. Y. Mercury, May 19, 26, 1766.

⁹³N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, Dec. 4, 11, 18, 1749; Ibid. Jan. 1, 1750.

South Carolina Gazette, Nov. 12, 19, 1744. Fouquet: "Writings fairly engrossed or copied."

⁹⁴N. Y. Mercury, Oct. 7, 1754.

⁹⁵N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Oct. 25, Nov. 1, 15, 22, 1764; Ibid. May 12, 22, 1766.

⁹⁶Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, July 22, Aug. 12, Dec. 9, 16, 1773.

Ibid, Dec. 22, 1774. "He copies out writings in the above mentioned languages."

⁹⁷Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 24, 1783.

Ibid, Feb. 12, 26, 1783. "The said Gentleman will translate any piece of writing from either of these languages into the other, and keep the strictest secrecy, if required."

very cheap.”⁹⁸ Two of Francis Daymon’s notices are interesting in this connection. In 1773, the following appeared:

NOTICE
FRANCIS DAYMON

A few doors above Market-street, the bank-side of Front-street in
Philadelphia

PREPARES and sells new and cheap instruments for marking linen, books, &c. with letters of different kinds, sizes and figures, fixed in length, inscriptions for labels, cards, &c. with a liquid of different colours, which will stand washing and boiling, the impression of which will endure as long as the cloth on which it is printed, otherwise the money shall be returned.

Ladies or Gentlemen who shall purchase any of the above instruments will be furnished with a bill of proper directions, with any quantity of letters of any size.—The apparatus is esteemed by his customers to be superior to any imported from England.

Said Daymon continues to teach Ladies and Gentlemen the French language, as usual, at their respective places of abode.⁹⁹

By 1777, Daymon seems to have been prepared for all-comers. In that year he published the following advertisement:

Just imported in the brig Little Julia, and to be sold by FRANCIS DAYMON, at his store, in Water-street, near Market-street, in the house where Matthias Aspden formerly lived,—West-India rum, French brandy, gin in cases, anniseed in bottles, old claret, salt in barrels, sugar, coffee, sweet almonds, sweetened chocolate, green-tea in cannisters, syrup, preserved fruits in bottles, shirt and sheeting linen, muslin, cambrics, handkerchiefs, ribbands, calicoes, velverets, superfine blue cloth, great coats and course shirts ready made, Castile soap, sheet-tin, in boxes, nails, writing-paper, cordage, and a good assortment of medicines &c, &c.¹⁰⁰

Odran Dupuy, in 1735, announced that he would “mend and clean Watches,”¹⁰¹ and J. Schuppy, in 1743, that “Bookbinding of all Sorts is done in the best Manner and at the most reasonable Rates.”¹⁰²

Information concerning the hours of instruction is not abundant. The advertisements indicate that, in most cases, the hours were arranged by agreement between masters and students. The type advertisement contains a statement to the effect that the master “may be spoke with at” his “house,” “school,” or “academy;” “whoever inclines to learn may apply to” the master, “who will agree on reasonable terms,” and “seasonable” hours. “If the Number of Subscribers was sufficient” to “encourage” him, the master might then announce his “public school hours” for those who were willing

⁹⁸American Weekly Mercury, May 16-23, June 6-13, June 27–July 4, 1723.

⁹⁹Pennsylvania Gazette, June 9, Nov. 19, 1773.

¹⁰⁰Ibid. May 14, 1777.

¹⁰¹Ibid, Feb. 4-11, 11-18, 18-25, Mar. 4-11, 1735.

¹⁰²Ibid, Nov. 16, 24, Dec. 1, 15, 1743.

to become members of mixed classes. In Louis Langloiserie's school, in Boston, 1737, "Attendance" was "given in the Afternoon to the Young Ladies and to Gentlemen at any other Hours."¹⁰³ In the following year, Langloiserie announced that he "would teach Children that Language every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, in the Forenoon, beginning at Eleven o'Clock and hold till half an Hour after Twelve; and in the Afternoon, begin at Five and hold till half an Hour after six."¹⁰⁴ John Lewis Mayor, of New York City, in 1753, announced that "Attendance will be given from Two to Five o'Clock in the Afternoon."¹⁰⁵ Peter Papin de Prefontaine, of Philadelphia, in 1758, "taught the French Language grammatically from the Hours of Eight to Ten in the Forenoon; and also from Ten to Twelve, for those Ladies who cannot conveniently come at the Hours aforesaid."¹⁰⁶ In 1776, William Payne, of Boston, "Begg Leave to acquaint the public, that . . . At 11 o'Clock in the Morning, and at 5 P.M. the School will be open for young Ladies who may incline to be acquainted with the French language."¹⁰⁷ Another Boston master, in the same year, kept his school "from 5 to 7 o'Clock in the Morning . . . 'On Morning Wings how active springs the Mind.'"¹⁰⁸ Francis Daymon, of Philadelphia, in 1773, opened his school "precisely at half an Hour after six o'clock every Morning, Saturdays excepted."¹⁰⁹ Thomas Egan, of New York, in 1780, attended "from 7 in the morning to 10," three days a week.¹¹⁰ It is probable that the hours mentioned were "public." Most of the instruction was "private," and the hours were not advertised. For obvious reasons, a master might try to enlarge his "private" classes by inducing a "company," or group of people to be "taught together" at a reduced rate.

¹⁰³Boston Gazette, Dec. 12-19, 1737.

¹⁰⁴Ibid, June 12-19, 1738; New Eng. Weekly Journal, July 18, 1738.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 27, 1766. Philip Key: "as usual on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, from 9 till 11 o'Clock in the Forenoon, and Afternoon from 2 to 4 o'Clock."

¹⁰⁵N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Nov. 26, Dec. 3, 1753.

¹⁰⁶Pennsylvania Gazette, Mar. 23, Apr. 20, 1758.

Ibid, June 11, 18, July 2, 16, 23, 1752. P. P. de Prefontaine: "in the forenoon, from the hours of nine to eleven."

Ibid, Oct. 30, 1755. J. M. Kramer: "from seven to twelve o'clock in the forenoon, and from two till seven in the evening."

¹⁰⁷New England Chronicle, May 23, 30, 1776.

¹⁰⁸Ibid, July 4, 11, 1776.

American Weekly Mercury, May 16-23, June 6-13, June 27-July 4, 1723. Mrs. Rodes "gives Attendance from Nine in the Morning till Twelve."

¹⁰⁹Pennsylvania Gazette, Apr. 14, 1773.

¹¹⁰N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 10, 1780.

In addition to the "public," and "private" hours in the schools, many masters seem to have had time for individual or group instruction "abroad." An unknown New York City master, of 1737, announced that "Any Persons that desire to be taught at Home, may be attended at seasonable Hours, provided the Time does not interfere with the Hours of his School."¹¹¹ Instruction of this type must have been very popular; it is probable that many groups of congenial people met together, and devoted part of the time to purely social purposes. In 1771, Francis Daymon, of Philadelphia, "humbly requested" "Those Ladies and Gentlemen who choose to be instructed at their respective places of abode . . . speedily to apply in order that it may be in his power to wait upon them at convenient hours."¹¹² William Clajon, of New York City, in 1761, "proposed to wait on Ladies at their Houses if a proper Number of them will meet together,"¹¹³ and Michael Bechades, in 1771, would "wait on any Lady or Gentleman in Town at their Houses."¹¹⁴

Some of the masters also taught in the evening. The "French Night School" appeared at an early date. In 1744, Charleston, S. C. had "A French Evening School for young Gentlemen."¹¹⁵ John

¹¹¹N. Y. Weekly Journal, June 27, July 4, 25, Aug. 1, 1737.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 29, 1770. Francis Daymon: "Gentlemen and Ladies . . . may be taught French . . . at any hour not interfering with the business of the School."

American Weekly Mercury, June 10-17, 17-24, June 24-July 1, 1736. John Salomon, Phila.: "at their respective Abodes."

¹¹²Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 5, 1771. Ibid, Oct. 3, 1771.

Ibid, Dec. 20, 1770. Francis Daymon "teaches Gentlemen and Ladies at their places of Abode."

Ibid, Feb. 21, Apr. 25, 1771. "Those Gentlemen who cannot attend at his Lodgings, will be waited upon at their Places of abode."

¹¹³N. Y. Mercury, Jan. 26, Nov. 2, 1761.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 27, Oct. 4, 11, 1744. John Eliot: "Gentlemen and Ladies . . . may be taught . . . either at their own Rooms or at his Lodgings."

Ibid, July 11, 1754. Charles Vignolles: "at their own houses."

¹¹⁴N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, July 22, Aug. 19, 1771.

Ibid, Mar. 2, 1772. F. H. De La Roche also "waited on" students "at their Houses."

New Eng. Chronicle, May 23, 30, 1776. Wm. Payne, Boston: "Such as choose to be attended at home may be waited on at such hours as shall be most convenient, and Visits repeated as requisite."

¹¹⁵South Carolina Gazette, Nov. 12, 19, 1744.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Dec. 20, 1770. Francis Daymon "has opened his Evening School, which will continue until the latter end of next May."

Ibid, Nov. 17, 1773. Daymon "keeps a regular class every Evening for those who cannot conveniently attend in the Day Time."

Ibid, Sept. 17, Oct. 8, 1783. "A FRENCH EVENING SCHOOL for the Convenience of GENTLEMEN engaged in Business."

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Sept. 21, 1772. John Haumaïd "Has engaged to open an Evening School, on Monday the 21st of September."

Lewis Mayor, of New York City, in 1753, taught French "from Six to Eight in the Evenings, Saturday excepted."¹¹⁶ A New York City advertisement of 1754 informs us that Thomas Ross "began his night school on Monday last at 6 o'clock in evening."¹¹⁷ John Philipse, "Teacher of the French Tongue," in New York, in 1758, announced that "he will attend . . . every Evening, from the Hour of Five till Eight."¹¹⁸ William W. Fentham, of Philadelphia, in 1770, "opened an EVENING SCHOOL for such young Gentlemen as are desirous of being instructed or improved in the French Tongue."¹¹⁹ The most popular hours of evening instruction seem to have been from six to eight.¹²⁰

It is evident that "this useful, elegant, and almost universal language" occupied a well-established position in the intellectual and commercial life of the American colonies. Here and there, we find a record indicating that French was "useful for future Merchants." Benjamin Franklin, in his "Proposals relating to the education of youth in Philadelphia," 1749, recommends it as an essential part of the preparation of "All intended" for commerce. The announcements of the language masters who "translated for Merchants, Attorneys, &c." give additional evidence of its practical value, and an appreciable number of young men must have studied it with such an end in view.

For the most part, however, it is referred to as an accomplishment, and this purpose was emphasized in the advertisements. Not only was "the polite French language . . . part of the education of

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Oct. 26, Nov. 9, 16, 1776. Francis Vandale kept "a day and evening school."

¹¹⁶N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Nov. 23, Dec. 3, 1753.

¹¹⁷N. Y. Mercury, Oct. 7, 1754.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Sept. 9, 16, 23, 1771. "John Girault . . . Acquaints the Public, That agreeable to his Custom he proposes opening his FRENCH SCHOOL, for the Evenings the 23d Instant September, at 6 o'Clock."

¹¹⁸N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Jan. 30, Feb. 6, 20, Mar. 6, 1758.

¹¹⁹Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 29, Dec. 27, 1770.

Ibid, Sept. 24, 1783. Jacob Lawn: "A French Night School."

¹²⁰N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Sept. 7, 14, 21, Oct. 12, 19, 1772.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Sept. 16, 23, Oct. 7, 14, 1773. Girault: "French Night School . . . Six to Eight."

Ibid, July 22, Aug. 12, Dec. 9, 16, 1773; Ibid, May 19, 26, 1774. Anthony Fiva: "evening school from 6 to 8, Saturday excepted."

Ibid, Oct. 6, 1774. Gollen, and Mountain taught French "at their Academy . . . an Evening School will be kept from six to eight."

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Oct. 6, 13, 20, 1777. Teniere: "6 to 8." Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 19, 1770. Francis Daymon: "A Night school . . . from five to nine o'clock." In 1771, Daymon kept school "from six o'clock till nine every night."

young ladies," but it was also "very useful, and indeed necessary for a gentlemen." In a notice of Oct. 3, 1771, Francis Daymon, of Philadelphia, "begs leave once more to return his thanks for the encouragement he has met with, from the ladies and gentlemen of this city, and cannot help congratulating them, that the study of the French language is like to keep pace with the liberal arts and sciences, which have already made such great progress in this infant colony, to say nothing of the advantage of being acquainted with so universal a language; the youth who become acquainted with it will have it in their power to investigate every branch of science, which has been conveyed to the world through this channel, and they will be able to read and to relish the beauties of the French orators and poets, without having recourse to the dull medium of translation."

CHAPTER II

THE TEACHING OF ITALIAN, PORTUGUESE, AND SPANISH IN COLONIAL AMERICA

The widespread popularity of French in the American colonies was not shared by the other romance languages. Italian is mentioned occasionally, in the records, as a "polite tongue." The cultured American was not unfamiliar with the literature of Italy, and its outstanding pieces were read in the original. Portuguese, and Spanish, however, appear to have been studied chiefly for commercial purposes. A knowledge of these languages was especially necessary to those engaged in trade with the West Indies, and South America.

Italian was taught in New York City as early as 1747.¹ In that year, "A School" was "open'd in New-street, near the Corner of Beaver-street, where English, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian are correctly and expeditiously taught by Augustus Vaughan."² A Philadelphia announcement, of 1755, indicates that John Matthias Kramer, well-known as a teacher of German, also gave instruction in Italian.³

The usual language master of the colonial period was capable of teaching several of "these polite languages." They were rarely offered singly. Anthony Fiva, of New York City, announced, in 1773, that he "continues to teach gramatically . . . the French, Spanish, and Italian languages in their greatest purity."⁴ In "A NEW ACADEMY for teaching MUSIC; DANCING and the ITALIAN and FRENCH LANGUAGES," in New York City, 1774, Joseph Cozani taught French, and Italian.⁵ Mrs. Cozani was mistress of a "FRENCH BOARDING SCHOOL . . . where are taught the English, French, and Italian languages grammatically."⁶

¹Seybolt, R. F. A Note on the Study of Italian in Colonial New York City (Journal of Educational Research, Nov., 1925).

²New York Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, Oct. 26, 1747.

³Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 30, 1755.

Newport Mercury, Oct 3, 10, 17, 1774. Francis Vandale, Newport, R. I. French, and Italian.

⁴Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Connecticut, Hudson's River, New Jersey, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, July 22, Aug. 12, Dec. 9, 16, 1773.

⁵Ibid, May 5, June 16, 1774.

⁶Ibid, July 21, 1774; Apr. 20, 27, 1775.

As may be expected, the notices of the period contain but few references to the teaching of Portuguese. Obviously, the demand for it was rather limited. A Philadelphia advertisement, of 1744, informs "ALL Gentlemen and Ladies, who are desirous of being instructed in the French or Portuguese Languages, that they may be taught with the utmost Diligence and Expedition, either at their own Rooms, or at his Lodgings at Mr. John Cottinger's, near the George, in Arch-street, by John Eliot."⁷ In New York City, 1751, Garrat Noel taught Portuguese, French, Spanish, Latin, and Greek.⁸

Throughout the colonial period, the most popular of the three languages was Spanish. References to its use by "Merchants and Mariners" are numerous. It may be recalled that Benjamin Franklin, in his "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania," 1749, recommended Spanish for "All intended . . . for Merchants."⁹

All the larger sea-coast cities shared in the Spanish trade. Among the New England ports, Boston led in the development of commercial intercourse with the colonies of Spain, in the second half of the seventeenth century. An interesting reflection of this is to be found in diaries, and journals of the period. A memorandum, of October, 1691, records Samuel Sewall's interest in the "Spanish Tongue:"

To Mr. Stretton, to buy . . . Some Spanish Books; Barthol. de las Casas in Spanish and English too; Grammar and Dictionary, if to be had; and what else you shall see convenient for my purpose of getting a Smattering of the Spanish Tongue.¹⁰

Sewall seems to have acquired the "Smattering" that he desired. In April, 1698, he ordered, from Amsterdam, a copy of the "Spanish Bible of Cypriano Valero."¹¹ Another interesting contemporary comment occurs in Cotton Mather's Diary:

About this Time, understanding that the way for our Communication with the *Spanish Indies* opens more and more, I sett myself to learn the *Spanish Language*. The Lord wonderfully prospered mee in this Undertaking: a few liesure Minutes in the Evening of every Day, in about a Fortnight, or Three Weeks Time, so accomplished mee, I could write very good Spanish. Accordingly, I composed

⁷Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 27, Oct. 4, 11, 1744.

⁸N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, Jan. 21, 28, 1751.

⁹Pennsylvania Gazette, Aug. 24, 1749.

¹⁰Samuel Sewall's Letter-Book (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 6th Series, I, 123). Samuel Sewall's Diary (M. H. S. Coll., 5th Series, VI, 13). Entry of April, 1700: "An Account of the first Voyages into America by Don Barthol. de las Casas . . . The President desires me to send for the above mentioned Books."

¹¹Letter Book (M. H. S. Coll., 6th Series, I, 199). Entry of April 25, 1698.

a little Body of the *Protestant Religion*, in certain Articles back'd with irresistible Sentences of Scripture. This I turn'd into the Spanish Tongue.¹²

This "little Body of the *Protestant Religion*" was published in Boston, 1699, under the title "Le Fe de Christiano."¹³ Cotton Mather, in all probability, did not "turn" this tract "into the Spanish Tongue" merely as an exercise in translation, nor primarily for home-consumption, but rather for distribution in the Spanish colonies.

The demand for instruction in Spanish supplies additional evidence of the importance of New York City in the trade with Spanish ports.¹⁴ The earliest New York City record, at hand, is an announcement, by an unnamed master, of 1735:

This is to give Notice that over against the Sign of the black Horse in Smith-street, near the Old Dutch Church, is carefully taught the French and Spanish Languages, after the best Method that is now practised in Great Britain, which for the encouragement of those who intend to learn the same is taught for 20s per Quarter.¹⁵

Augustus Vaughan, 1747, Garrat Noel, 1751, and Anthony Fiva, 1773-1774, have been mentioned as teachers of Spanish in New York City. "At the New York Ferry upon Nassau Island," John Clarke, in 1749, taught Spanish, and French.¹⁶ Francis Humbert de la Roche, "having taught the French Language in this City for a few Years," announced, in 1772, that he would "also teach to read Latin and Spanish on the most reasonable Terms."¹⁷

The advertisements do not contain the materials for extended comment on the methods of instruction. But little is to be learned from such expressions as: "correctly and expeditiously," and "in a method concise and easy." More definite information is given by Anthony Fiva, and Mrs. Joseph Cozani, of New York City, both of whom taught the languages "grammatically." A few excerpts from Fiva's notices may be of interest, in this connection: "As Mr. Fiva has had an academical education, and resided many years in Paris and Madrid, he is therefore able to resolve any question that might puzzle his scholars, and entirely ground them both in the true accent

¹²Cotton Mather's Diary (M. H. S. Coll., 7th Series, VI, 284). Entry of January, 1699.

¹³Mather, Samuel. The Life of Cotton Mather (Boston, 1729), 164.

¹⁴Seybolt, R. F. A Note on the Study of Spanish in Colonial New York City (Journal of Educational Research, Nov., 1925)

¹⁵N. Y. Gazette, July 14-21, 21-28, July 28-Aug. 4, 4-11, 1735.

¹⁶N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, Dec. 4, 11, 18, 1749; Jan. 1, 1750.

¹⁷N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Mar. 2, 1772.

of these polite languages, and all the rules of the syntax;"¹⁸ "He enables his pupils in a short time to carry on an epistolary correspondence, so useful to young persons in business;"¹⁹ "He still continues teaching the above languages . . . after the manner of academies, universities, and colleges of the learned world."²⁰ Mrs. Cozani taught her "young Ladies" to "write and translate one language into the other."²¹

Little is known of the text-books that were used in the teaching of Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish. A Charleston, South Carolina, bookseller's advertisement, of 1732, mentions "Pinder's Spanish Grammar."²² One of the masters, Garrat Noel, was the author of "A Short Introduction to the Spanish Language, to which is added a Vocabulary of Familiar Words for the more speedy Improvement of the Learner; with a Preface showing the Usefulness of this Language particularly in these Parts."²³ Where texts were not used, the masters usually prepared "tables of verbs," and brief "vocabularies" for their students.

Language teachers were frequently engaged as translators by merchants, and others. John Clarke, who "translated and taught" French, and Spanish, announced that he would give "sufficient Security . . . to keep all Writings secret." Garrat Noel "translates Accompts, and other Papers, in the Spanish and Portuguese Languages;" and Anthony Fiva "translates from any of the said languages (French, Spanish, and Italian) into the English, or either of the two others, with accuracy, dispatch, and secrecy for attorneys, merchants, &c."

The continued demand for instruction in these "useful and polite languages" is abundantly indicated in the newspapers of the period. Their popularity in the sea-port cities reflects, in part, certain aspects of the intellectual and commercial life of these important centers of population and trade.

¹⁸Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., H. R., N. J., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, July 22, Aug. 12, Dec. 9, 16, 1773.

¹⁹Ibid, May 19, 26, 1774.

²⁰Ibid, Dec. 22, 1774.

²¹Ibid, July 21, 1774; Apr. 20, 27, 1775.

²²South Carolina Gazette, Apr. 15, 1732.

²³N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, June 3, 10, 1751.

CHAPTER III

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN COLONIAL AMERICA

The earliest form of vocational education in colonial America was provided by the apprenticeship system. The colonists brought it with them, and it remained, for some time, the only institution which prepared for vocational life. As the population of the various settlements increased, new occupational activities were called into existence, and old ones were obliged to expand, or otherwise change their character, to meet the needs of a new day. The development of commerce and the trades made its special demands on the youth who were preparing to enter the vocations. New, and better practitioners were necessary.

For farmers, and artisans, or handicraftsmen, training by apprenticeship was considered adequate, but it could not provide the theoretical, technical instruction demanded in certain other callings. The successful book-keeper, and accountant, for example, had to be well-grounded in commercial arithmetic, and the various forms of book-keeping. Surveying, and navigation presupposed instruction in geometry and trigonometry, as well as special courses in surveying, and navigation, geography, "the making of Maps," and astronomy.

Available records indicate that, by the opening of the eighteenth century, schools appeared in response to these needs. Definite curricula were organized for the purpose of preparing youth for the vocations of surveying, navigation, and business life. The materials of these courses of study were at hand; it was not necessary to develop them from their beginnings.

An early eighteenth century reference to the teaching of surveying in Boston occurs in a notice of 1709:

OPPOSITE to the Mitre Tavern in Fish-street near to Scarlets Wharff, Boston, are Taught Writing, Arithmetick in all its parts; And also Geometry, Trigonometry, Plain and Spherical, Surveying, Dialling, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy; The Projection of the Sphere, and the use of Mathematical Instruments: By Owen Harris.¹

¹Boston News Letter, Mar. 14-21, 1709.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Mar. 12, 19, 26, Apr. 2, 1745. Charles Peale, "at the Kent County School, near Chester Town, Maryland."

Ibid, Jan. 9, 1772. Joseph Toy, Trenton, N. J.

Ibid, May 28, 1772. John Wilson, Newark, Delaware.

The subject appears also in the curricula announced by Joseph Kent, 1735,² and Isaac Greenwood, 1739, of Boston.³

Surveying was offered in New York City, in 1723, by John Walton,⁴ and in 1730, by James Lyde.⁵ In Philadelphia, Andrew Lamb, and Theophilus Grew were teaching surveying in 1733, and 1734, respectively.⁶

But few of the notices contain references to the character of the instruction in surveying. It may be assumed that many of the masters followed "the best Authors now in Print."⁷

George Adams, of New York City, 1758, taught "Surveying in all its Branches,"⁸ and Nathaniel Havens, "by all the various Methods ever yet publicly taught."⁹ The "Use of the various Instruments" is mentioned by Joseph Stiles, of Philadelphia, 1757,¹⁰ and Charles Shimmin, of Salem, Massachusetts, 1772.¹¹ Joseph Blanchard, of New York City, 1747, informed prospective students that he had "a Set of Surveying Instruments."¹²

Another detail of method is added by Thomas Carroll, of New York City, 1765, who taught "Surveying in Theory and all its different Modes in Practice, with two universal Methods to determine the

²Boston News Letter, Oct. 9-16, 1735.

Boston Gazette and Country Journal, June 30, July 7, 1766. John Pope, Boston.

New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 23, 1757. John Gordon, "Somerset County, East New-Jersey."

³Boston Gazette, Mar. 26-Apr. 2, 2-9, 1739.

Georgia Gazette, June 16, 30, 1763. John Portrees, Savannah, Ga.

Newport Mercury, Apr. 23, May 14, 1764. Maurice Towel, Newport, Rhode Island.

Ibid, July 10, 17, 24, 1769. Ebenezer Bradford, Newport, R. I.

⁴American Weekly Mercury, Oct. 17-24, 24-31, 31-Nov. 7, 1723.

⁵New York Gazette, Aug. 31-Sept. 7, 1730.

⁶American Weekly Mercury, Sept. 6-13, 13-20, Dec. 14-21, 1733.

Ibid, Oct. 3-10, 17-24, 31-Nov. 7, Dec. 5-12, 1734; Oct. 16-23, 1735.

⁷Pennsylvania Gazette, Aug. 7, 1766. G. M'Cain.

The most popular texts were of English authorship, by Love, Wild, and Wilson.

⁸N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, July 13, 1758.

⁹Ibid, May 8, 15, 22, 29, June 12, 1758.

Pennsylvania Gazette, May 29-June 5, 1735. Theophilus Grew: "after the newest and best Methods."

Ibid, Sept. 14, 1775. John Heffernan: "surveying in all its most modern improvements."

¹⁰Pennsylvania Gazette, July 28, 1757.

¹¹Essex Gazette, July 4-21, 21-28, 28-Aug. 4, 1772. "Surveying by various Methods and different Instruments."

¹²N. Y. Evening Post, Aug. 3, 1747.

Area of right lined Figures.”¹³ Thomas Adel, of Philadelphia, 1764, is more satisfactory in his statement of particulars:

RUNNING PROVINCE LINES is taught by THOMAS ADEL at his School in Front-street, on Society-hill, Philadelphia, near the Swedes Church.

1. How to run a Meridian Line with Plumb Lines.
2. How to find a Meridian Line in the thickest Woods, any Hour of the Night when the North Star can be seen, without the Help of a Magnetical Instrument, to greater Exactness than by Amplitude, or Azimuth of the Sun, taken where you have the Advantage of a clear Horizon.
3. How to find the horizontal Distance of Places by Inspection in a Table for that Purpose.
4. How to run an East or West Line, or Parallel of Latitude; with Directions how to make Off-sets and Allowances, in order to keep sufficiently near your Latitude. Also how to avoid Errors from the common Accidents occuring in running such Lines.
5. How to run a Circular Line.

All this is done without the Help of a Magnetical Instrument. The Methods are entirely new, and such as have never been published.¹⁴

In many instances, the masters refer to their instruction as “both theoretical and practical.” John Nathan Hutchins, of New York City, 1763, tells how he taught “Surveying in Practice:” “Young Gentlemen inclined to learn Surveying, will be instructed in the Practick as well as Theoretical Part, he being provided with Chain and Compass, and has obtained Liberty of exercising his Scholars on a convenient Tract of Land not far distant.”¹⁵

With the development of maritime commerce, came a demand for instruction in navigation, and allied subjects, to which the schools were quick to respond. Boston had two teachers of navigation in 1709: Owen Harris, and John Green. The latter’s announcement may be of interest:

REading, Writing, Arithmetick, Merchants Accompts, Geometry, Trigonometry, Plain and Sphaerical, Dyalling, Gauging, Astronomy, and Navigation are Taught; And Bonds, Bills, Indentures, Charter-parties, &c. are drawn; and Youth Boarded in Cross-street, Boston. By John Green.¹⁶

¹³N. Y. Mercury, May 6, 13, 20, Sept. 30, Oct. 7, 1765.

Ibid, May 12, 19, June 2, 1766.

¹⁴Pennsylvania Gazette, Mar. 15, 1764.

¹⁵N. Y. Mercury, Apr. 25, May 2, 1763.

¹⁶Boston News Letter, Mar 21-28, 1709.

Independent Advertiser (Boston), Apr. 17, 24, May 1, 1749. John Leach.

N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 23, 1757. John Gordon, “East New-Jersey.

In 1727, Samuel Grainger gave instruction in navigation,¹⁷ and, in 1735, Joseph Kent advertised his course in "Sailing."¹⁸

In 1712, Allane Jarratt, of New York City, "being sensible how much the youth brought up in this city are at a loss in going to sea without a sufficient Instruction in writeing and Arithmetick and in the Art of Navigation with other usefull parts of Mathematicks that might be abundantly servicable to them in the discharge of their duties at sea, and haveing been desired by several persons to Instruct them privately," requests a "Lycence" to teach these subjects.¹⁹ His petition was granted by Governor Hunter, July 4, 1712. Other early teachers of navigation in New York City were John Walton, 1723, and James Lyde, 1730. The subject was included in the curriculum of "the Grammar School in the City of New York," of which Alexander Malcolm was "Master."²⁰

Navigation was offered in Philadelphia, in 1733, and 1734, by Andrew Lamb, and Theophilus Grew, who have been mentioned as teachers of surveying. It was among the courses given in the "Kent County School, near Chester-Town, Maryland," 1745.²¹

Some of the masters announce the subject merely as "Navigation," or "Sailing;" others supply a great deal of detailed information concerning the methods and scope of the course. John Walton, of New York City, 1723, taught the "Mariners Art, both Plain and Mercator's Way."²² Others announced "Navigation in the three

¹⁷Boston Gazette, Sept. 4-11, 11-18, 1727.

Ibid, Mar. 26-Apr. 2, 2-9, 1739. Isaac Greenwood.

¹⁸Boston News Letter, Oct. 9-16, 1735.

Essex Gazette, July 14-21, 21-28, 28-Aug. 4, 1772. Charles Shimmin, Salem.

Newport Mercury, May 22, June 5, 1759. John Sims, Newport, R. I.

Ibid, Oct. 24, 31, Nov. 7, 14, 1763. Thomas Howland, Newport, R. I.

¹⁹N. Y. Col. Mss., lvii, 190. Cited by Pratt, D. J. *Annals of Public Education in the State of New York* (Albany, 1872), 93.

²⁰N. Y. Gazette, Dec. 30-Jan. 7, 7-14, 14-21, 1734.

²¹Pennsylvania Gazette, Mar. 12, 19, 26, Apr. 2, 1745.

Ibid, Aug. 30, Oct. 4, 1759. Thomas Powell, Burlington, N. J.

Georgia Gazette, June 16, 30, 1763. John Portrees, Savannah, Ga.

²²American Weekly Mercury, Oct. 17-24, 24-31, 31-Nov. 7, 1723.

Ibid, Oct. 3-10, 17-24, Oct. 31-Nov. 7, Dec. 5-12, 1734; Oct. 16-23, 1735. Theophilus Grew: "Navigation in all the kinds of Sailing."

Newport Mercury, Dec. 26, 1763; Apr. 23, May 14, 1764. Maurice Towel, Newport, R. I.: "Navigation, the whole Art, in its Theory and Practice."

Ibid, Nov. 8, 26, 1764. William Engs, Newport, R. I.: "Navigation in a Practical Way."

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Quebec Weekly

Kinds of Sailing, plain, Mercator, and Great Circle Sailing.”²³ John Nathan Hutchins, of New York City, 1752, offered “plain, oblique, mercator, and Great Circle Sailing.”²⁴

In 1733, “Andrew Lamb, School-Master in Philadelphia,” mentioned the keeping of “a Compleat Journal” as an important feature of his instruction. A more satisfactory account of the methods employed in teaching navigation appears in his announcement of 1751:

ANDREW LAMB

Is removed to Mr. Abraham Taylor’s Alley, near Second-street, which was formerly a school with good conveniences, and continues to qualify youth for business, &c. viz.

Writing, arithmetick, vulgar and decimal, merchants accompts, the Italian method, by double entry. Dr. and Cr. the only true way that is now used; Navigation in all its parts, both theory and practice, viz. Geometry, Trigonometry, and Plain-sailing; Traverse, Mercator, and Parallel Sailing; Coasting, Bearing and Distance of Land, and Current Sailing. All these are geometrically, logarithmically, and instrumentally performed. Next the practice, which is the main thing intended; and here I shall give you a complete journal from the Lizard to the Rock of Lisbon, with lee-way and variation allowed each course, and rules to apply them, and an amplitude at sun rising and setting, and applied to the east and west variation; this is one of the journals that I kept to Lisbon, and is therefore recommended to all ingenious artists, as a pattern for any other voyage; and I can shew several journals of my own works to the American plantations, and one from England to Cape Henlopen, in 20 days, 1748. And to make mercator charts, a new and easy method, and to work any journal in them, which makes a traverse in the mercator charts, and is proved so exact as the proportions in mercator’s sailing, by the latitudes and longitudes every day at noon; and sheweth the plain tract which the ship made the whole voyage, and a true method to correct all journals, and to bring the ship safe to the desired port, which is the only thing intended by a good journal. Also Surveying, Gauging, Dialling, and Spherical Geometry, Trigonometry in all its various cases, and Great-Circle Sailing, applied in several problems, which proves the meridional parts in mercators sailing to a fair demonstration; and the

Advertiser, Feb. 17, 1774. Thomas Byerley, and Josiah Day: “Navigation, in its sundry kinds.

Ibid, Mar. 23-30, 1775. Du Poke, and de St. Pry: “teach Navigation after the French method.”

Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 14, 1774. John Heffernan, Phila: “navigation in all its kinds.”

²³N. Y. Evening Post, Aug. 3, 1747. Joseph Blanchard.

N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, June 1, 8, 15, 1747. Henry Moore: “Navigation in its three kinds viz. Plain, Mercator, and Great Circle Sailing.”

²⁴N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, June 26, July 6, 13, 20, 1752.

application of all the most useful and necessary problems in great variety of astronomy. All these are carefully taught and diligently attended, by

ANDREW LAMB

N. B. I teach in their own houses at certain hours, when desired, with due attendance and diligence. I have above 30 years experience in teaching both the theory and practice of navigation.

Sailors, take a friend's advice, be not cheated by land-men that pretend to navigation, for they know nothing of a sea journal, which is the principal thing you want to know, and the use of sea-charts: My Scholars are qualified to go mates the first voyage, and bring me a good account of their journals.²⁵

Lamb called attention to this method, again in 1755: "a compleat Method to keep the Ship's Way at Sea, called a Journal, whereby I teach in my School, to find the Longitude at Sea every Day at Noon, by true Proportions; as sure as the Latitude by Observation of the Sun . . . although Sun and Stars should disappear for several Days and Nights, my Plan will find both Latitude and Longitude at noon every Day, or any other Hour . . . the Scheme is new and never was in printed Books, and has been approved by proper Judges &c. Your Log-line must be 50 feet between each Knot, and Glass just 30 Seconds; or your Log-line may be 48 Feet between each Knot, and Glass just 29 Seconds."²⁶ The method of finding the ship's position "although Sun and Stars should disappear for several Days and Nights" was announced, also, by William Cockburn, of New York City, 1764: "a new Method of observing the Latitude at any Time of Day, so very much wanted in thick Weather at Noon."²⁷

John Nathan Hutchins, and James Hutchins, of New York City, 1752, offered instruction in "a new and compleat Method without the Help of Books, Tables or any Mathematical Instrument whatsoever."²⁸ The "new method" was used, in the following year, by John Lewis, also of New York City: "Navigation, both Geometrical, Trigonometrical, Arithmetical, Instrumental and by Inspection; or by a new Method whereby the whole Art is performed with only Pen and Ink."²⁹

²⁵Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 19, Mar. 19, Apr. 4, 18, June 20, 1751.

²⁶Ibid, Oct. 23, Nov. 6, 1755.

²⁷N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Jan. 12, Feb. 16, 1764.

²⁸N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, June 26, July 6, 13, 20, 1752. N. Y. Mercury, Apr. 25, May 2, 1763. John N. Hutchins: "Navigation by all the various Ways ever yet taught, whether Tabular, Logarithmetical, or Instrumental, also without the Help of Books or Scales."

²⁹N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, June 4, 11, 25, July 9, 16, 23, 1753.

Ibid, Jan. 21, Feb. 11, 25, 1754. John Lewis: "Navigation, by all the Methods commonly taught, viz. By Geometry, Trigonometry, Instruments, and Tables: Or, by a new method whereby the whole Art is performed with only Pen and Ink, or a Piece of Chalk without the Help of any Book or Instrument."

David Ellison, of Philadelphia, in 1771, taught "Navigation in all branches, both with regard to theory and practice, with the construction and use of a true Sea Chart (according to the oblate spheroid figure of the earth) whereby the errors attending the other projections are avoided, and how to find the latitude at sea, by the altitudes and distances of the sun and moon, or a known fixed star and the moon."³⁰ This method of finding the latitude and longitude was "exhibited in John Hamilton Moore's Navigation," according to an announcement by "Mr. Evans," of New York City, 1781.³¹ In 1773, Ellison offered "the solution of the problem for finding the longitude at sea by celestial observation; also to find the latitude by the moon's meridional altitude."³²

Robert Leeth, of New York City, 1755, taught "the Construction of the Plain and Mercator's Chart on the same Sheet, which cannot but give the young Artist a clearer Idea of the Error of the One and the Truth of the other,"³³ and Thomas Carroll, in 1765, "the Construction and Use of the Charts, and Instruments necessary for keeping a Sea-Journal with a Method to keep the same, were the Navigator deprived of his Instruments and books &c. by any Accident."³⁴

The study of geography, maps and globes was a necessary part of the training of the navigator.³⁵ Many schools offered geography

³⁰Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 17, 24, 1771.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 7, 14, Oct. 14, 21, 1782. John Davis: "the New Method of finding the Latitude by two Altitudes of the Sun, and of finding the Moon's distance from the Sun."

³¹Royal Gazette, Oct. 17, 20, 31, Nov. 21, 1781.

Ibid, Oct. 18, 22, 1783. J. Mennye: "the new Method of finding the Latitude and Longitude will be taught in a short Time to those who are already acquainted with Figures. Likewise, the Method of making a Chart, fitted to any Voyage, or to any extent of Land or Water."

³²Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 17, 1773.

³³N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 12, 19, 26, 1755.

³⁴N. Y. Mercury, May 6, 13, 20, Sept. 30, Oct. 7, 1765.

Ibid, May 12, 19, June 2, 1766. Thomas Carroll: Navigation, the Construction and Use of Charts, and Instruments necessary for keeping a Sea Journal, with a Method to keep the same, were the Navigator deprived of his Instruments (for taking Celestial Observations), Books, and Compass by any Accident (a Thing Plain and easy to a School-Boy, however difficult and impossible it may appear to the Ignorant)."

³⁵Theophilus Grew (op. cit.) taught "the Use of Globes, Maps . . ."

Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 24, Dec. 1, 6, 15, 20, 1743. Charles Fortesque: "Use of the Globes."

Ibid, Mar. 12, 19, 26, Apr. 2, 1745. Charles Peale: "the Use of the Globes, by the largest and most accurate Pair in America."

N. Y. Mercury, Apr. 25, May 2, 1763. J. N. Hutchins: "the Use of the Globes, Celestial and Terrestrial (of which he has a good Set)."

in the eighteenth century;³⁶ and "the Making of Maps" was usually included in the course in navigation.³⁷

Most teachers of navigation gave instruction in astronomy, geometry, and trigonometry. In the vocational schools of the eighteenth century, geometry and trigonometry were not treated as pure sciences; they were taught with reference to their use in navigation and surveying. In the courses of study examined, they were, in most cases, allied with these two subjects. Several interesting records indicate this relationship. In advertisements of 1753, and 1754, John Lewis, of New York City, announced that "What is called a new Method of Navigation is an excellent Method of Trigonometry, here particularly applied to Navigation."³⁸ James Cosgrove, of Philadelphia, 1755, taught "geometry, trigonometry, and their application in surveying, navigation &c,"³⁹ and Alexander Power, in 1766, "with their Application to Surveying, Navigation, Geography, and Astronomy."⁴⁰ Another New York City master, William Cockburn, in 1764, offered "Trigonometry, with its Application to the taking of Heights and Distances . . . Spherical Trigonometry, with its Application to Great Circle Sailing and Astronomy."⁴¹

A few of the masters were able to give their students the benefit of actual experience. In one of his notices, Andrew Lamb announced that he had had "great and long Experience at Sea, both on board the Royal Navy and Merchant Ships," and that he had "taught Navigation, and kept a Journal above 40 Years." A New

³⁶See Chapter V.

³⁷Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 12, 1771. Maguire, and Power: "the use of globes and maps, and how to make maps."

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Oct. 28, Nov. 4, 11, 1771. James Conn, Elizabethtown, N. J.: "also the most useful and most difficult part of Geography, viz. Drawing Maps and Charts, either Plain, Mercator, Spherical, or Conical; together with their Explanation, and the Reason why each Kind are drawn in the Manner they are."

Independent Advertiser (Boston), Apr. 17, 24, May 1, 1749. John Leach: "the Use of the Globes and Charts, and Drawing as far as is useful and necessary for a compleat Sea Artist."

³⁸N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Oct. 8, 15, Nov. 26, Dec. 3, 24, 1753; Jan. 7, 14, 21, 1754.

³⁹Pennsylvania, Feb. 4, 18, 1755.

⁴⁰Ibid, Oct. 2, 9, 1766.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, Oct. 6, 1774. Gollen, and Mountain, N. Y.: "geometry, trigonometry, with their application to navigation, surveying, mensuration, and astronomy, together with the use of Davis's and Hadley's quadrants."

⁴¹N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Jan. 12, Feb. 16, 1764.

York City teacher claimed "16 Years Experience at Sea," and "flatters himself he can render Navigation (in some Measure) familiar to the young Navigator the first Voyage."⁴² John Leach, of Boston, 1749, had "served in His Majesty's Navy some Time, and three Voyages in the honourable East-India Company's Employ, two of which in Quality of Mate."⁴³

The navigation texts most frequently mentioned in the announcements of the period are those by Atkinson, Crosby, Norwood, Patoun, Robertson, Robinson, Seller, Waggoner, and Wilson. Other popular works were "The Seamen's Vade Mecum," "Mariner's Calendar," "Mariner's Compass," and "Mariner's Mirror."

The newspapers were often used as the medium of exchanging questions and answers in "theoretical and practical Navigation." A typical problem follows:

To the Printers of the Pennsylvania Gazette,
Gentlemen,

As a Solution of the following Question may be of general Use in Navigation, your giving it a Place in your next Paper will oblige your humble Servant,
October 17, 1763.

On the 15th of August, 1763, being in or near the Longitude of 70° 00' W. from London, and in North Latitude, the Sun's Altitude at 12' past Nine o'Clock, and at 14' past Twelve, was alike by a Watch, viz. 60° 30'; the Ship failed during that Time 24' 6" due West. The Latitude the Ship was in, and the true Time of Day the last Altitude was taken is required.⁴⁴

A reply appeared in the next issue of the paper:

In Answer to the above, I find the Latitude is 35° 30' North, at either of the Times; also that at 29' 48" past Ten in the Morning, and at 30' 12" past One o'Clock in the Afternoon, were the true Times when the Altitudes were taken, and the Watch too slow by the Space of 1 hr. 17' 48". This is the true Answer, and will stand the Test.

Richard Harrison, Teacher
in the Charity-School belonging to the Academy, in Philadelphia.⁴⁵

If "Nauticus" was not a navigator, it is probable that he was a schoolmaster. Frequently, problems of this nature were published by schoolmasters who signed their names; and the challenges were usually answered by other teachers.

⁴²N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Dec. 12, 1768. James Lamb.

N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, July 4, 11, 18, 25, 1748. Cornelius Linch, "School-Master is return'd from Sea."

Pennsylvania Gazette, Apr. 30, 1761. Joseph Garner, Phila: "the whole Art of Navigation &c. by one who is properly qualified for the same."

⁴³The Independent Advertiser (Boston), Apr. 17, 24, May 1, 1749. John Leach.

⁴⁴Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 20, 1763.

⁴⁵Ibid, Oct. 27, 1763.

Philadelphia had a school of architecture in 1771, conducted by Thomas Nevell, a well-known builder of the time:

WHEREAS I have been requested by sundry persons, anxious to improve themselves in the art of architecture, to undertake the teaching of so necessary a mystery as the carpenter's business is; I will take upon me to instruct a small number of youths, or others, the right use and construction of lines for the formation of regular or irregular arches, groins for vaults or ceilings, brackets for plaistered cornices, and the like; the most expeditious and approved method of diminishing columns and pilasters; the readiest rule for laying out the flutes and fillets; the method of forming raking cornices for pediments, &c. The geometrical rules for finding the length, back and level of hip and valley rafters, to any construction, straight or circular, and to lay down principal roofs in ledgement, most of the performances aforesaid shall be delineated and put in practic in miniature, after which I propose to teach regularly the drawing of the five orders, and designs, and generally each branch requisite to form a true and compleat architect; all which, by a person of common capacity, may be gone through with and learnt in two months at most, on the following terms, to wit.—As soon as six persons, at least, have acquainted me with their intent of being taught, I shall attend at my own house, at the sign of the Carpenter's Hall, in Fourth-street, near Union-street, four nights in each week, they paying Ten Shillings for entrance, and Twenty Shillings per month.⁴⁶

Notices of the next two years indicate the success of Nevell's venture.⁴⁷ Christopher Colles, also of Philadelphia, 1771, taught in his evening school "the application and practical uses of" the various mathematical subjects "in several trades and manufactures, in building all kinds of water-works, as docks, bridges, &c. also docks, sluices, and aqueducts for inland navigations; in the construction of various kinds of mills, and engines for abridging the labour of men; together with the most expeditious method of designing and drawing plans, elevations, sections, and perspective views in architecture, and to embellish the same, likewise exact methods of drawing any mill or engine, though of the most complex structure, so that another may be made similar thereto by any intelligent workman, with some other articles worthy of notice, too tedious to insert here."⁴⁸

The development of domestic, and foreign commerce, especially in the seaport cities, is reflected in the large number of schools in which the "mercantile" subjects were offered. Commercial education in colonial America had the same purpose that it has at the present time, to give technical preparation for business life. The commercial course was designed to prepare accountants, book-keep-

⁴⁶Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 31, Nov. 21, 1771.

⁴⁷Ibid, Sept. 30, 1772.

Ibid, Nov. 24, 1773.

⁴⁸Ibid, Sept. 26, 1771.

Ibid, Dec. 9, 1772. John Wilson, Newark, Delaware, taught "architecture."

ers, clerks, scriveners, merchants, and bankers for their special vocations. For these purposes, the schools gave instruction in "common and mercantile Arithmetic," penmanship, book-keeping; and, for those who were preparing for foreign trade, the languages of commerce, and "Foreign Exchanges."

Throughout the colonial period, arithmetic was primarily a commercial subject. The first text by an American author, Isaac Greenwood, 1729, was entitled "Arithmetick, Vulgar and Decimal; with the applications thereof to a Variety of Cases in Trade and Commerce."⁴⁹ In this, and other American arithmetics of the eighteenth century, such topics as alligation, barter, exchange, fellowship, percentage, position, practice (which, according to Nicholas Pike, "has its name from its daily use among merchants and tradesmen, being an easy and concise method of working most questions which occur in trade and business"), tare and trett indicate the practical character of the subject.⁵⁰

A Philadelphia schoolmaster, in 1774, announced "common and mercantile arithmetic,"⁵¹ another "mercantile arithmetic."⁵² James, and Samuel Giles, of New York City, 1759, taught "Arithmetic, both Vulgar and Decimal, Interest and Annuities,"⁵³ and Thomas Carroll, also of New York City, 1765 offered "Vulgar and Decimal Arithmetic; the Extraction of the Roots; Simple and Compound Interest; how to purchase or sell Annuities; Leases for Lives, or in Reversion, Freehold Estates, &c. at Simple and Compound Interest."⁵⁴ William Dawson, of Philadelphia, 1753, taught "arithmetic, vulgar and decimal, in a short and concise method, not commonly taught, whereby two thirds of the time and trouble may be saved from the common methods; and such persons who have not time to go through the ordinary courses in arithmetic, may be made capable of common business by multiplication."⁵⁵

It may be assumed that the instruction in writing offered in many of the elementary schools would not satisfy the professional needs of most book-keepers, scriveners, and clerks of various kinds.

⁴⁹Boston News Letter, May 29, June 5, 12, 1729.

⁵⁰See Monroe, W. S. Development of Arithmetic as a School Subject (U. S. Bur. Ed., Bull. 1917, No. 10).

⁵¹Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 14, 1774. John Heffernan.

⁵²Ibid, Nov. 12, 19, 1783. George Fitzgerald.

⁵³Parker's N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Apr. 30, May 14, 21, 28, 1759.

⁵⁴N. Y. Mercury, May 6, 13, 20, Sept. 20, Oct. 7, 1765.

⁵⁵Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 4, 18, 1753.

They were required not only to write a "legible Hand," but also to ornament their work. The finished page must be beautiful, as well as merely legible.

Before the appearance of typewriters, and typists, the public scrivener was an important individual. His services were in constant demand for drawing up wills, deeds, contracts, and for making "true Copies" of documents for public record. He was master of a large assortment of "conventional Hands," and also of the "Art of Flourishing."

Stephen Hartley, of Charleston, S. C., 1744, taught "Writing in all the usual Hands,"⁵⁶ and N. Walton, and W. Hetherington, of Philadelphia, 1745, "in all the Hands of Great Britain."⁵⁷ Many masters announced "all the useful Hands," and "all the Hands now in use." The meaning of these expressions is made clear by Thomas Byerley, and Josiah Day, of New York City, 1774, who offered "WRITING, in all the useful and ornamental branches: as Common or Round Hand, Print, Secretary, Square Text, Chancery, Court, and the Italian Hands."⁵⁸

The texts, and copy-books of the period throw additional light upon the scope, and purpose of the course in penmanship. William Milne, who kept an evening school in Philadelphia, 1751, had for sale:

some curious Copper-plate books, done by the best English Masters on the following subjects, viz. Various forms of trade and merchandize, containing 40 Folio Letters on several occasions, 16 Folio plates; Snell's standard rules of the round and round text hands, mathematically demonstrating how to draw those hands by scale and compass only. 6 Folio plates, with printed directions. Bickman's essay after ditto rules. Penman's companion copy-book, in all hands, 29 Folio plates. Ollyfe's copy-book in all hands, particularly the law hands, 25 Folio plates. Also his copy-book of the law hands, in single lines.⁵⁹

Another Philadelphia master, in 1763, was the author of "A NEW SETT of Copies in the large modern Round Text, for the Use of

⁵⁶South Carolina Gazette, June 4, 11, 20, 1744.

N. Y. Mercury, Sept. 28, 1761. William Rudge: "in all the usual Hands." Ibid, Apr. 25, May 2, Nov. 21, 28, 1763. William Jones: "Writing, in the speediest and most elegant Method now practiced in Europe."

⁵⁷Pennsylvania Gazette, Aug. 15, 22, 29, 1745.

Ibid, Jan. 12, 19, Feb. 16, Apr. 6, 27, May 11, Aug. 10, 24, 1758. John Reilly: "Writing in all the useful Hands."

Ibid, Mar. 31, Apr. 8, 1742. Nathanael Platt: "the most modish as well as necessary Hands."

⁵⁸Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., or Quebec Weekly Advertiser, Feb. 17, 1774.

⁵⁹Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 17, 24, 1751.

Schools.”⁶⁰ Thomas Powell, “Master of the Boarding School at Burlington, New Jersey,” published, in 1764, “The Writing Master’s Assistant; containing a concise and practical System (in Copper Plate) for teaching to write . . . N.B. Directions how to hold the Pen, how to sit, and how to use the Plates severally are prefixed to the work.”⁶¹

Book-keeping seems to have appeared in the schools as early as the other vocational subjects. It was offered in Boston by John Green, 1709, Browne Tymms, 1718,⁶² Samuel Grainger, 1724-1727, and Charles Lewis, 1730:

Writing, Arithmetick, Merchants Accompts, Foreign Exchanges, either in French or in English, are taught at the Widow Copp’s, at the Lower End of Princestreet, Boston, by Charles Lewis.⁶³

In New York City, book-keeping was taught by George Brownell, in 1731,⁶⁴ and Alexander Malcolm, 1734; in Philadelphia, by Andrew Lamb, 1733, and Theophilus Grew, 1734;⁶⁵ in Chester Town, Maryland, by Charles Peale, 1745;⁶⁶ and in Charleston, South Carolina, 1744, by Stephen Hartley, George Brownell, and John Pratt.⁶⁷

⁶⁰Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 3, 1763. William Thorne, “Writing-Master and Accountant.”

⁶¹Newport Mercury, Sept. 17, 24, 1764.

N. Y. Mercury, Apr. 8, 1765.

⁶²Boston News Letter, Feb. 24-Mar. 3, 1718.

Boston Gazette and Country Journal, June 30, July 7, 1766. John Pope.

Essex Gazette, July 14-21, 21-28, 28-Aug. 4, 1772. Charles Shimmin, Salem.

Newport Mercury, Apr. 23, May 14, 1764. Maurice Towel.

Ibid, Apr. 14-21, 21-28, 28-May 5, 5-12, 12-19, 1776. Thomas Green.

Ibid, July 10, 17, 24, 1769. Ebenezer Bradford.

⁶³Boston News Letter, Mar. 5-12, 12-19, 1730.

Boston Post Boy, and Weekly Advertiser, Sept. 10, 1759. John Vinal.

Essex Gazette, Feb. 8-15, 15-22, 1774. Peter Donworth, Marblehead: “Book-keeping after the Italian Manner, or double entry.”

⁶⁴N. Y. Gazette, Aug. 31-Sept. 7, 1731

N. Y. Weekly Journal, Mar. 24, 31, Apr. 7, 1740. James Foddey.

Ibid, Apr. 6, 13, 27, May 4, 18, 25, 31, June 15, 22, 1741. John Campbell.

⁶⁵See Pennsylvania Gazette, May 29-June 5, 1735; Oct. 14, 21, 28, Nov. 4, 18, 25, 1742; Mar. 10, 17, 24, 1743; Sept. 20, 27, Oct. 11, 1744; Sept. 20, 27, 1753.

Ibid, Aug. 18-25, 1737. William Robins.

Ibid, Nov. 5, 1741. Alexander Buller.

Ibid, Nov. 24, Dec. 1, 6, 15, 20, 1743. Charles Fortesque.

⁶⁶Pennsylvania Gazette, Mar. 12, 19, 26, Apr. 2, 1745.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Apr. 16, 30, 1770. James Conn, Hackensack, N. J.

Ibid, Apr. 16, 30, May 7, 14, 1770; Sept. 22, 1771; May 4, 1772. Peter Wilson, Hackensack, N. J.

⁶⁷South Carolina Gazette, June 4, 11, 20, 1744.

Ibid, Sept. 3, 10, 17, 1744.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Jan. 9, 1772. Joseph Toy, Trenton, N. J.

Ibid, May 28, Dec. 9, 1772. John Wilson, Newark, Del.

Occasionally, book-keeping is indicated, in the records, merely by the words "Accounts," or "accompts." Samuel Grainger, in his notice of 1724, announced "Writing, Accompts and the Mathematicks;"⁶⁸ and, in 1727, "Writing, Arithmetick, Book-Keeping, Navigation, &c."⁶⁹ Charles Lewis taught "Merchants Accompts," Alexander Malcolm, "Merchant's Book-Keeping." In most schools of the colonial period, merchants accounts, or book-keeping, was taught "after the Italian Method of Double Entry."⁷⁰ Andrew Lamb advertised his course as "Merchants Accounts, the Italian Method, by double Entry, Dr. and Cr. the only true way that is now used,"⁷¹ and Stephen Hartley, as "Merchant's Accompts, or the Italian Method of Book-Keeping."⁷²

In the "English Grammar School," conducted by Thomas Byerley, and Josiah Day, in New York City, 1774, book-keeping was taught "after the Italian method, and the practice of the most regular Counting-Houses."⁷³ Alexander, and William Power, of Philadelphia, 1772, offered "BOOK-KEEPING in the newest and most approved method now taught in Dublin,"⁷⁴ and George Fitzgerald,

⁶⁸Boston Gazette, Aug. 31-Sept. 7, 1724.

⁶⁹Ibid, Sept. 4-11, 11-18, 1727.

⁷⁰N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 23, 1757. John Gordon: "The Art of Book-Keeping, or Merchants Accounts, after the Italian Method, by Way of double Entry.

Ibid, Aug. 14, 28, Sept. 4, 1758. Edward Willett, and George Adams: "Accompts after the Italian Method of double Entry."

Ibid, Apr. 21, 1763. Samuel Giles: "Merchants Accompts in the Italian Method."

N. Y. Mercury, Apr. 22, 29, 1765. Edward Riggs, Kingston, N. Y.: "Book-Keeping by Double Entry, commonly called Merchants Accounts."

⁷¹Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 19, Mar. 19, Apr. 4, 18, June 20, 1751.

Ibid, Oct. 20, 1757. Andrew Morton, Phila.: "Merchant's Accompts according to the true Italian Method of Dr. and Cr. by double Entry."

Ibid, June 16, 1757. William Thorne, Phila.: "Merchants Accompts, after the Italian Method, or double Entry."

⁷²See also South Carolina Gazette, Sept. 3, 10, 17, 1744. George Brownell, and John Pratt, Charleston, S. C.: "Merchants Accompts, in the true Italian Method of Double Entry, by Debtor and Creditor."

Newport Mercury, Nov. 8, 26, 1764. William Engs, Newport, R. I.: "the Italian Method of Book-Keeping."

Ibid, Apr. 14-21, 21-28, 28-May 5, 12, 12-19, 1766. Thomas Green: "Merchants Accounts, the Italian Method."

⁷³Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, Feb. 17, 1774.

⁷⁴Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 30, 1772.

Ibid, Sept. 18, 25, Oct. 2, 1760. R. Kennedy, J. Maxfield, and D. Kennedy, Phila.: "Book-Keeping Methodized."

Ibid, Feb. 13, 20, Mar. 6, 1766. Joseph Garner, Phila.: "Merchants Accompts in the newest and most practical method."

in 1783, "according to Dowling's system, which is allowed to be the most accurate method now extant in Europe." Fitzgerald advised "gentlemen who intend their children for mercantile business" that "his method of instruction" was "adapted to real trade."⁷⁵

For purposes of illustration, actual journals, or ledgers, were examined, and analyzed in the evening classes of John Heffernan, of Philadelphia. He taught, in 1774, "Italian book-keeping, with sundry domestic, foreign, and company accompts demonstratively journalized."⁷⁶

An occasional exception to, or criticism of, the Italian method is to be found in the announcements. William Dawson, of Philadelphia, in 1755, for example, taught book-keeping "by way of single entry, in a plain and methodical manner."⁷⁷ An interesting criticism was published by George Robinson, of New York City, in 1770:

This is to inform the Public, That

George Robinson,

Late of Old England, purposes opening an EVENING SCHOOL, at his house on Golden Hill, New York, January the 8th, for book-keeping as used in London, either in the wholesale or retail way: Has practised it upwards of twenty years, having served an apprenticeship in the mercantile way, and ever after constantly used to it. Presumes it necessary almost every Person intended for business should learn a course of book-keeping; but begs leave to say, not in the customary way: Witness the complaints among merchants and tradesmen, that their boys when they first come to business are almost as ignorant in the management of their books as if they had never learnt any method. There is boys who have not had time to learn, or perhaps a capacity to understand a compleat course in the Italian, which is commonly promiscuously alone taught to all; there are also many intended for such business as that the Italian method is thrown away upon them. Hours from 6 to 8.⁷⁸

John Searson, of New York City, evidently had his own modification of the Italian method. In 1755, he announced that "as 'tis evident that it would be too tedious and require too much Leisure and time for the Shopkeeper and Retailer to keep to all the Rules of Merchants Accompts," he "proposes to teach a very short and perspicuous Method for Retails &c. to adjust their Accompts by."⁷⁹

⁷⁵Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 12, 19, 1783.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 7, 14, Oct. 14, 21, 1782. John Davis, N. Y.: "Book-keeping in the exemplary manner, so that the Book-keeper can adapt his ideas to any circumstance in trade and business."

⁷⁶Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 14, 1774.

⁷⁷Ibid, Apr. 10, 1755.

⁷⁸N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, 1770.

⁷⁹N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Sept. 15, 19, 29, Oct. 6, 13, 1755.

The methods of instruction in many of the schools were based on actual experience in business. George Robinson had "practised" book-keeping "upwards of twenty years, having served an apprenticeship in the mercantile way." Messrs. Du Pake, and De. St. Piv. of New York City, were "perfectly acquainted with most parts of the extensive branches of trade, having themselves earned on a vast commerce, in several parts of the West Indies, in both the French and English islands."¹⁰⁰ A Philadelphia master, in 1771, called attention to his own qualifications by criticising the teaching of his fellow-craftsmen:

Notwithstanding several School Masters have of late pretended to teach Italian Book-Keeping, yet those who have had the Misfortune of enquiring them, have to their Disappointment found them entirely ignorant of the Matter, this is therefore to inform all such Persons, as choose to be instructed in Italian Book-Keeping after a proper Manner, that they will hear of a Person (by applying to Mr. Brown, in Second-street near Spruce-street) thoroughly qualified to teach them, who derives his Knowledge from transacting Business in several Houses, both in Europe and America, and who engages not to ask anything for his Tuition, should he fail of perfecting wherever may be insisted on his Tuition, and rendering them completely fit for a Merchant's Office.¹⁰¹

George Fitzgerald "was regularly bred to mercantile business, and several years in the practical part of book-keeping, in capital houses of trade in Europe."¹⁰²

Young men preparing to enter the employ of merchants engaged in foreign trade studied "Foreign Exchanges," and the languages of commerce. Charles Lewis, of Boston, 1750, offered "Foreign Exchanges, either in French or in English."¹⁰³ Many masters gave instruction in French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish, the principal "Tongues of Trade."¹⁰⁴

The most popular texts on book-keeping, in the eighteenth century, were Dillworth's, and Mair's. Book-store advertisements contain many references to such general commercial texts as "The Young Secretary's Guide," "The Trader's Assistant," "The Trader's Sure Guide," "Complete Tradesman," "Ready Reckoner," etc. A common type of trade-medium is indicated by the following, from *The Virginia Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1751:

¹⁰⁰ Robinson's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn. N. J. H. R. and Quebec Weekly Messenger, Mar. 25, 1775.

¹⁰¹ Pennsylvania Gazette, Jan. 3, 1771.

¹⁰² Boston News Letter, Mar. 5-12, 12-19, 1750.

¹⁰³ Pennsylvania Gazette, Aug. 15, 22, 29, 1745. N. Walton, and W. Hetherington, "Foreign Exchanges in the Italian Manner, with Foreign Exchanges."

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter I, 61.

The American Instructor, or Young Man's Best Companion, containing Spelling, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetick, in an easier Way than any yet published; and how to qualify any Person for Business, without the Help of a Master. Instructions to write a Variety of Hands, with Copies both in Prose and Verse; How to write Letters of Business or Friendship; Forms of Indentures, Bonds, Bills of Sale, Receipts, Wills, Leases, Releases, &c. Also Merchants Accompts and a short and easy Method of Shop and Book-Keeping; with a Description of the several American Colonies. Together with the Carpenter's Plain and Exact Rule, showing how to measure Carpenter's, Joyner's, Sawyer's, Bricklayer's, Plaisterer's, Plumber's, Mason's, Glasier's, and Painter's Work; How to undertake each Work, and at what Price; the Rates of each Commodity, and the common Wages of Journeymen, with Gunter's Line, and Coggeshall's Description of the Sliding-Rule, Likewise the Practical Gauger made easy; the Art of Dialling; and how to erect and fix any Dial, with Instructions for Dying, Colouring, and making Colours.

There were "Companions" for every vocation. The titles of similar works are to be found in the newspapers of all colonies. Evans, in his *American Bibliography*, lists a large number of eighteenth century tables of "exchanges," and "money-rates."⁸⁴ Most book-sellers supplied blank ledgers, and "Merchant's Account Books of all Sizes."

An essay, entitled "Some Thoughts of Education," published in Philadelphia, 1735, contains some interesting comments on commercial education:

Writing and Accompts are the very Profession of Clerks, and therefore to be wanting either of these is to be deficient in Essentials, and unworthy of the very Name of a Clerk: Nor is it sufficient barely to write a fair Character. A Clerk should have an easy Freedom in his Hand, a bold Stroke with his Pen, and the Skill and Command of striking a neat Capital, or proper Ornament, by which Means he will not only be able to do his Business without Difficulty, but also make it appear to Advantage.

'Tis a common thing for a young Man who wrote very tolerably at the Writing School, immediately upon his Entrance into Business, to lose his Hand, occasioned by his falling from a slow way of Practice, to attempt Dispatch; but if either at the Time of their Learning, they were brought by Degrees, from set Copys, and Pieces, to write after larger Specimens, and real Presidents, or on their first Entrance into Business, &c., they would themselves have the Prudence, carefully, and leisurely to copy what is given them, and leave it to Time and Practice to render them Ready and Expeditious, they would find the Benefit of it, and have their Diligence crown'd with Success.

Arithmetic is more the Business of the Head than Hand, and he that proposes himself for a Clerk or Accomptant, ought to have a perfect Understanding of it, for what Satisfaction can a Man take, in doing what he doth not understand? and how must he be out of Countenance, if call'd upon for an Explanation? Whereas he that works with Knowledge, and can render a Reason for what he doth, not only goes on with Certainty and Pleasure to himself, but to the Satisfaction of others: Besides he who is Master of the Theory, and whose Business puts him upon constant Practice, can hardly fail of adding new Improvements of his own, to the Discoveries of others in that Excellent Art.

⁸⁴Evans, Charles. *American Bibliography* . . . 1639-1820. Chicago, 1903-14.

The next necessary Qualification of a Clerk or Accomptant, is that excellent Art of Italian Book-Keeping, a Science that needs not the Praise of Words, and without which a Man is fit neither for the Cabinet, or Compting-House, and indeed People seem more sensible of its Value than ever, by the many that are instructed therein.⁸⁵

The author remarks that the "qualifications requisite to Trade, Commerce, and the Business of the Worlds are seldom or never to be had at Grammar Schools."

The curriculum announced for the opening of the Philadelphia Academy, in 1751, included "Merchants Accounts . . . Surveying . . . Navigation."⁸⁶ Surveying, and navigation, and "Introduction to Trade and Commerce" appear in Provost Smith's program of 1756.⁸⁷ Benjamin Franklin, in his "Proposals," of 1749, had recommended "The History of Commerce, of the Invention of Arts, Rise of Manufactures, Progress of Trade, Change of its Seats, with the Reasons, Causes, &c."⁸⁸ The example of the Philadelphia Academy seems to have been followed in the plan of studies drawn up by the first president of Kings College, in 1754.⁸⁹ At Harvard, and Yale, navigation and surveying were studied primarily as "Applications" of geometry, and trigonometry. Book-keeping was not offered in the New England colleges, in that early day. As a rule, young men did not attend these institutions for the purpose of preparing for the vocations of navigation, surveying, and business life.

Although confirmatory records are not available, it is safe to say that book-keeping, navigation, and surveying were taught in Boston, and New York City during the seventeenth century. Both cities had become important centers of population and trade before 1700, and there must have been a demand for instruction in these subjects.⁹⁰ They appeared in Charleston, and Philadelphia shortly after the opening of the eighteenth century.⁹¹

⁸⁵American Weekly Mercury, Dec. 31-Jan. 7, 7-14, 1735.

See Appendix A, for full text of this essay.

⁸⁶Pennsylvania Gazette, Dec. 18, 1750.

⁸⁷Ibid, Aug. 12, 1756.

⁸⁸Ibid, Aug. 24, 1749.

⁸⁹N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, June 3, 1754. "Surveying and Navigation . . . Geography and History . . . Husbandry, Commerce and Government."

⁹⁰N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1880, 341-342.

⁹¹In 1710, "An Act for the Founding and Erecting of a Free School for the Use of the Inhabitants of South Carolina" provided for the appointment of "a fit person to teach the youth of this province to write, and also the principles of vulgar arithmetic, and merchants accounts." (The Statutes at Large of South Carolina. Ed. by Cooper, T., and McCord, D. J., Columbia, S. C., 1836-41. II, 346.)

This was repealed in 1712, but an act of that year, for establishing a free school, included the provision that a properly qualified master be appointed "to

The purpose of these schools is clearly stated in many announcements. William Engs, of Newport, R. I., taught "the Italian Method of Book-Keeping, in its various Branches, so as to qualify youth for a Compting House &c. &c."⁹² One schoolmaster of Philadelphia addressed his advertisement to "gentlemen who intend their children for mercantile business,"⁹³ another announced that his instruction was "applied to the Business of the Merchant, the Banker, the Custom-House, and Insurance Office, &c."⁹⁴ Thomas Carroll, of New York City, sought to qualify his students "for business, either as a mechanic, merchant, seaman, engineer, &c."⁹⁵

Town schools made no attempt to meet the needs of the time. The vocational courses were offered only in private-venture establishments. These schools had no definite, or exclusive name; they were called "School," "Academy," "Grammar School," "English Grammar School," "Mercantile and Mathematical School." They may properly be called vocational schools.⁹⁶ Their various curricula, identical in essential respects, were designed to prepare young men for vocational life. They were the most popular of all schools of secondary grade throughout the eighteenth century.

teach writing, arithmetic, and merchants accounts, and also the art of navigation and surveying." (Ibid, II, 395)

⁹²Newport Mercury, Nov. 8, 26, 1764.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 18, 1766. "Merchants Accounts so effectually as to render the Pupil qualified to enter a Compting House."

N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Sept. 2, 23, 30, 1762. James Giles: "Writing Arithmetic . . . with new Improvements for the Dispatch of Business."

⁹³Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 12, 19, 1783. George Fitzgerald.

Ibid, Feb. 19, Mar. 19, Apr. 4, 18, 1751. Andrew Lamb "continues to qualify youth for Business &c."

⁹⁴Ibid, Feb. 13, 20, Mar. 6, 1766.

Ibid, Aug. 30, Oct. 4, 1759. Thomas Powell, Burlington, N. J.: "I undertake to board and qualify youth either for the Compting House or Sea."

Ibid, Sept. 8, Dec. 8, 22, 1757. James Cosgrove: "to fit them for the Sea, the College, or the Counting House."

⁹⁵N. Y. Mercury, Nov. 10, 1766.

South Carolina Gazette, Feb. 16, 1742. William Gough: "the several and most useful Branches . . . according to the London Method, whereby youth may be qualified for Business by Land and Sea."

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, Mar. 16, 23, 1775. Samuel Seabury, Westchester, N. Y.: "to prepare young Gentlemen for the College the Compting House or any genteel Business."

It should be noted that most of these schools also prepared for the vocations of gauging, and dialling.

⁹⁶See Appendix B.

CHAPTER IV

THE TEACHING OF ELEMENTARY MATHEMATICS IN COLONIAL AMERICA*

The pioneer work on the history of elementary mathematics in the United States was written, by Cajori, in 1890.¹ For thirty-five years it has been the only comprehensive treatment of the subject. Since the date of its publication, nothing has been added to our knowledge of the mathematical instruction beyond arithmetic that was given in the schools of colonial America.²

Smith's *History of Mathematics* contains nothing on colonial mathematics.³ Stamper, in his work on the teaching of geometry, cites Cajori.⁴

Cajori's treatise begins with a section entitled "Colonial Times." In this, he discusses the mathematics offered in the "Elementary Schools," and in the "Colleges." The first two paragraphs will indicate the character of his treatment of mathematics in the elementary, and secondary schools of the colonies:

On the study of mathematics in elementary schools of the American colonies but little can be said. In early colonial days schools did not exist except in towns and in the more densely settled districts; and even where schools were kept, the study of mathematics was often not pursued at all, or consisted simply in learning to count and to perform the fundamental operations with integral numbers. Thus, in Hampstead, N. H., in 1750, it was voted "to hire a schoolmaster for six months in

*Reprinted, with permission, from *The Journal of Educational Research*, May, 1925.

¹Cajori, F. *The Teaching and History of Mathematics in the United States*. Washington, D. C., 1890. (U. S. Bur. Ed., Circ. Inf., 1890, No. 3.)

²My study was completed before the appearance of Simons, Lao G. *Introduction of Algebra into American Schools in the Eighteenth Century* (U. S. Bur. Ed., Bull. 1924, No. 18).

³Smith, D. E. *History of Mathematics*. N. Y., 1823. Vol. I.

An interesting article by Professor Smith, entitled "A glimpse at an early colonial algebra" (*School and Society*, Jan. 5, 1918, pp. 8-11), describes "a manuscript on algebra by Samuel Langdon . . . written under the direction of Isaac Greenwood . . . On the front cover . . . 'Samuel Langdon's Book, July 25, 1739,' and on the reverse of this leaf . . . 'Algebra by Isaac Greenwood, M. A. Began July 25, 1739.' A colophon reads: 'Finished writing Algebra August 17, 1739. Algebrae Finis.'" This manuscript is also described by Miss Simons.

⁴Stamper, A. W. *A History of the Teaching of Elementary Geometry*. N. Y., 1906. (Columbia Univ. Contribs. to Educ., T. C. Series, No. 23) "Unless otherwise stated Cajori is the authority here referred to." (p. 96, n. 5)

ye summer season to teach ye children to read and write." Arithmetic had not yet been introduced there. As late as the beginning of this century there were schools in country districts in which arithmetic was not taught at all. Bronson Alcott, the prominent educator, born in Massachusetts in 1799, in describing the schools of his boyhood, says: "Until within a few years no studies have been permitted in the day school but spelling, reading, and writing. Arithmetic was taught by a few instructors one or two evenings in a week. But in spite of the most determined opposition arithmetic is now permitted in the day school." This was in Massachusetts at the beginning of this century.

In secondary schools, "ciphering" was taught during colonial times, which consisted generally in drilling students in the manipulation of integral numbers. He was an exceptional teacher who possessed a fair knowledge of "fractions" and the "rule of three," and if some pupil of rare genius managed to master fractions, or even pass beyond the "rule of three," then he was judged a finished mathematician.

The author then indicates the dates of appearance of the various mathematical subjects in the curricula in four colonial colleges, as follows:⁵

	Harvard	Yale	William and Mary	Univ. of Penn.
Algebra.....	1726-38, ⁶ or 1786 ⁷	1742	1724	1758
Geometry.....			1724	
Alsted.....	1636	1701		
Euclid.....	1726-1738 ⁸	1733		1758
Trigonometry.....		1766		1758
Conic Sections....		1766 ⁹		1758
Fluxions.....		1766		1758 ¹⁰

One gains the impression that mathematics beyond arithmetic appeared only in the colleges during the colonial period. It may be of interest to prospective chroniclers of the development of instruction in mathematics in this country to know that the "higher branches" were also taught in the lower schools of the day.¹¹ The

⁵The table is mine.

⁶Cajori, 25: "It is probable that with the introduction of Ward's Mathematics, algebra began to be studied at Harvard."

⁷Ibid, 25: "But I have found no direct evidence to show that algebra actually was in the college curriculum previous to 1786."

⁸Ibid, 24: "Sometime between the years 1726 and 1738 . . . Alsted's old Geometry had given place to . . . Euclid."

⁹Ibid, 32: "This is the earliest distinct mention of conic sections and fluxions as college studies in America."

¹⁰Ibid, 36: "The courses of study mapped out by Dr. Smith," first provost of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia. As a matter of fact, these "courses of study" were first published in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* of August 12, 1756. The plan was published again in the *American Magazine* (October, 1758, pp. 630 ff.), of which Provost Smith was editor. In this latter article, Mr. Smith remarks that "this plan, which was first published in August, 1756," was "subscribed by the Faculty of masters." When the Academy opened, Jan. 7, 1751, algebra and geometry were included in the curriculum.

¹¹Algebra, geometry, mensuration, trigonometry, conic sections, and fluxions are often mentioned in the records as the "Higher Branches of the Mathematics." The writer is aware that all mathematics through the calculus is called "elementary," or "introductory."

records indicate that some of these subjects were offered in schools of sub-collegiate grade as early as in the colleges.

Commencement theses on algebraical topics, at Yale, in 1718, and, at Harvard, in 1721, are evidence of the study of algebra at those institutions, either in course, or as extra-curricular interests. "James Diman's Book, 1730/31" indicates that Diman, who graduated from Harvard in 1730, may have studied algebra during Greenwood's professorship, 1727-1738. If Samuel Langdon studied algebra "under the direction of Isaac Greenwood," between July 25 and August 17, 1739, he did not study it at Harvard, but rather in Greenwood's private school. It is probable that algebra was taught at Harvard between the years 1727-1738.

Instruction in algebra was offered in Boston, in 1727. The record follows:

The Experimental Course of Mechanical Philosophy which was intended to have been recapitulated this Summer, is, by Reason of the Shortness of the Evenings, and the Heat of the Season, deferred till the Fall, when Notice will be given thereof. In the mean time, if any Gentlemen are desirous of being acquainted with the Principles of Algebra; Sir Isaac Newton's incomparable Method of Fluxions, or the Differential Calculus, together with any of the universal Methods of Investigation used by the Moderns; the Elements of Euclid and Appolonius; or any Part of Speculative or Practical Mathematicks, commonly taught in the Colleges, or Schools of Europe: Attendance will be given by the Author of the said Course at Mrs. Belknap's, at the upper End of Queen Street, Boston: Where, also to such as are already instructed in the Mathematical Sciences, the Principles of Sir Isaac Newton, and the Modern Discoveries in Astronomy and Philosophy will be explained and demonstrated in a concise and easy Manner.¹²

The "Author of the said Course" was Isaac Greenwood, who graduated from Harvard in 1721, and, in 1727, became Harvard's first Professor of Mathematics. Greenwood held the Hollis professorship until his dismissal in 1738.

Another interesting early curriculum, which included algebra, was announced, in 1730, by James Lyde of New York City:

On the 15th of September next, at the Custom House in this City (where a convenient Room is fitted up) James Lyde designs to Teach in the Evenings (during the Winter) Arithmetick, in all its Parts, Geometry, Trigonometry, Navigation, Surveying, Gauging, Algebra, and sundry other Parts of Mathematical Learning. Whoever inclines to be instructed in any of the said Parts of Mathematical Knowledge, may agree with the said James Lyde at the House of William Bradford in the City of New York.¹³

¹²Boston News Letter, June 29-July 6, 1727.

Ibid, July 6-13, 1727. Conic sections is added.

¹³New York Gazette, Aug. 31-Sept. 7, 1730.

New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 19, 26, 1778. John Davis: "that excellent science Algebra, in its simple, quadratic and adsected equations."

Algebra appeared also in the curriculum of the public Grammar School in New York City, in 1734: "At the said school are Taught all the Branches of the Mathematicks, Geometry, Algebra, Geography, Navigation, Merchants Book-keeping after the most perfect Manner."¹⁴ In the same year, Theophilus Grew, of Philadelphia, taught "algebra . . . and all other Parts of Mathematicks."¹⁵ A year later, he added "the Use of . . . scales, Sliding Rules, and all sorts of Mathematical Instruments."¹⁶ Grew will be remembered as the first Professor of Mathematics at the Philadelphia Academy, which later became the University of Pennsylvania. In 1735, John Hunter, also of Philadelphia, taught "Algebra or any other Parts of the Mathematicks;"¹⁷ and Joseph Kent, M. A., advertised a similar program in Boston.¹⁸

Geometry was offered early in the lower schools. The earliest newspaper announcement was published in 1709:

OPPOSITE to the Mitre Tavern in Fish-street near to Scarlets Wharff, Boston, are taught Writing, Arithmetick in all its parts; And also Geometry, Trigonometry, Plain and Spherical, Surveying, Dialling, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy; The Projection of the Sphere, and the use of Mathematical Instruments: By Owen Harris.¹⁹

This program of studies was duplicated by John Green, of Boston, in the same year.²⁰ John Walton, "late of Yale Colledge," taught geometry in New York City, in 1723.²¹ It was offered also by Isaac Greenwood (Boston, 1727), James Lyde (N. Y., 1730), Alexander Malcolm (N. Y., 1734), Theophilus Grew (Phila., 1735), and Joseph Kent (Boston, 1735), who have already been mentioned as teachers of algebra. Evidently, Isaac Greenwood did not use Alsted's text; in his announcement, the subject is entitled "Euclid."

¹⁴New York Gazette, Jan. 7, 14, 21, 28, 1734. Alexander Malcolm was master of the public Grammar School until it was discontinued, in 1738.

¹⁵American Weekly Mercury, Oct. 2-10, 17-24, Oct. 31-Nov. 7, Dec. 5-12, 1734.

¹⁶Ibid, Oct. 16-23, 1735.

¹⁷Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 19, Oct. 10, 1754. William Dawson: "the use of the Gunter's sliding-rule."

¹⁸Ibid, Nov. 20, Dec. 4, 1760. Wm. Dawson: "all the necessary Branches of the Mathematicks, with the Solution of every Problem, by the plain or sliding Gunter."

It is not improbable that eighteenth century American teachers were familiar with the early seventeenth century treatises of Gunter, Oughtred, and Wingate.

¹⁹Pennsylvania Gazette, Mar. 4-11, 1735.

²⁰Ibid, Sept. 14, 1774. John Heffernan: "simple and quadratic Algebra."

²¹Boston Weekly News Letter, Oct. 9-16, 1735.

²²Boston News Letter, Mar. 14-21, 1709.

²³Ibid, Mar. 21-28, 1709.

²⁴American Weekly Mercury, Oct. 17-24, 1723. There were no newspapers in New York in 1723. Walton advertised in a Philadelphia paper.

The subject mensuration appears to have been as popular as that of geometry. An early reference occurs in a "Notice" published by Andrew Lamb, "School-Master in Philadelphia," in 1733.²² Theophilus Grew, and John Hunter, in the following year, included mensuration in their curricula. Joseph Blanchard, of New York City, in 1747, described his course as "Mensuration of superficies and solids."²³ This was more common than the shorter title, mensuration."

"Trigonometry, Plain and Spherical" was taught, in 1709, by two Boston masters: Owen Harris, and John Green; in 1739, by Isaac Greenwood,²⁴ and, in 1749, by John Leach.²⁵ Joseph Kent, in 1735, announced the subject as "the Doctrine of Triangles, plain and spheric." It occurred also among the courses advertised, in 1730, by James Lyde, of New York City, and, in 1734, by Theophilus Grew, of Philadelphia. John Lewis, of New York, in 1753, informed his students that "what is called a new Method of Navigation is an excellent Method of Trigonometry here particularly applied to Navigation; But is of great Use in all kinds of Measuring and in solving many Arithmetical Questions."²⁶ Another New York City master, in 1764, taught "Trigonometry with its Application to the taking of Heights and Distances . . . Spherical Trigonometry, with its Application to Great Circle Sailing and Astronomy."²⁷

Instruction in conic sections was given, in 1727, by Isaac Greenwood, of Boston; in 1759, by James and Samuel Giles, of New York City;²⁸ and, in 1760, by Robert Kennedy, John Maxfield, and David Kennedy, of Philadelphia.²⁹ Calculus was offered, in 1727, by Greenwood; in 1770, "Fluxions" was announced by Robert Patterson, of Philadelphia,³⁰ and, in 1772, by Charles Shimmin, of Salem, Massa-

²²American Weekly Mercury, Sept. 6-13, 13-20, 1733; Jan. 1-8, Dec. 12-19, 1734.

²³New York Evening Post, Aug. 3, 1747.

²⁴Boston Gazette, Mar. 26-Apr. 2, 2-9, 1739. After leaving the Harvard faculty, Greenwood opened a school "at the Duke of Marlborough's Arms in King-Street, over against the Golden Fleece, where Attendance is given from 9 to 12 A. M. and 3 to 6 P. M."

²⁵Independent Advertiser (Boston), Apr. 17, 24, May 1, 1749.

²⁶New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Dec. 24, 1753; Jan. 7, 14, 21, 1754.

²⁷Ibid, Jan. 12, Feb. 16, 1764. William Cockburn.

New York Journal, or the General Advertiser, Feb. 24, Mar. 3, 10, 1774. Thomas Byerley, and Josiah Day taught "TRIGONOMETRY, plain and spherical, with its application to Altimetry and Longimetry."

²⁸Parker's New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Apr. 30, May 14, 21, 28, 1759.

²⁹Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 18, 25, Oct. 2, 1760.

³⁰Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser, Oct. 22-29, 1770.

chusetts.³¹ Obviously, the demand for these subjects was not very great.

A list of fifty Boston, New York, and Philadelphia masters, who taught various "Parts of the Mathematicks," will serve to indicate the popularity of these studies:³²

- 1709 (Owen Harris, Boston): Geom., trig.
- 1709 (John Green, Boston): Geom., trig.
- 1723 (John Walton, N. Y.): Geom.
- 1727 (Isaac Greenwood, Boston): Alg., geom., conic sections, calculus.
- 1730 (James Lyde, N. Y.): Alg., geom., trig.
- 1733 (Andrew Lamb, Phila.): Mensuration.
- 1734 (Andrew Lamb, Phila.): Mensuration.
- 1734 (Alexander Malcolm, N. Y.): Alg. geom.
- 1734 (Theophilus Grew, Phila.): Alg., geom., trig.
- 1735 (Theophilus Grew, Phila.): Alg., geom., trig. mensuration.
- 1735 (Joseph Kent, Boston): Geom., trig.
- 1735 (John Hunter, Phila.): Alg., mensuration.
- 1739 (Isaac Greenwood, Boston): Alg., geom., trig., calculus.
- 1741 (Alexander Buller, Phila.): Alg., "and other parts of the Math."
- 1742 (Theophilus Grew, Phila.): Alg., geom., trig.
- 1743 (Theophilus Grew, Phila.): Alg., geom., trig.
- 1743 (Charles Fortesque, Phila.): Mensuration.
- 1743 (James Fox, Phila.): Geom., trig.
- 1743 (Nathan Prince, Boston): Alg., geom., trig.
- 1744 (Theophilus Grew, Phila.): Alg., geom., "other parts of the Math."
- 1747 (Joseph Blanchard, N. Y.): Alg., geom., trig., mensuration.
- 1747 (George Bingham, N. Y.): Geom., trig.
- 1747 (Henry Moore, N. Y.): Geom., trig.
- 1747 (John Clare, Phila.): Alg., geom., trig., conic sections.

³¹Essex Gazette (Salem, Mass.), July 14-21, 21-28, July 28-Aug. 4, 1772.

³²To save space, the references are omitted. They may easily be located in the files of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia papers for the proper years. The writer has, in his collection, as many more, for the same period, in R. I., Conn., N. J., Md., Va., Ga., S. C.

A list of almost 300 "MATHEMATICAL Books. Sold by Samuel Fuller, at the GLOBE IN MEATH STREET, 1726" will be found in Littlefield, G. E. *Early Schools and School-Books of New England* (Boston, 1904), 204-210. Many of these were used in eighteenth century America.

The titles of many texts appear in book-store advertisements in the colonial newspapers.

- 1748 (Cornelius Linch, N. Y.): Mensuration.
 1748 (Thomas Craven, Phila.): Alg.
 1749 (John Leach, Boston): Geom., trig.
 1749 (John Wilson, N. Y.): Alg., geom., trig.
 1751 (Unnamed N. Y. master): Alg., geom., trig., "Math. Instruments."
 1751 (John N. Hutchins, N. Y.): Geom., trig., logarithms.
 1751 (Robert Leeth, N. Y.): Alg., geom., trig., logarithms.
 1751 (Andrew Lamb, Phila.): Geom., trig., logarithms.
 1752 (Thomas Allen, N. Y.): Geom., trig.
 1752 (John Clare, Phila.): Alg., geom.
 1752 (John, and James Hutchins, N. Y.): Geom., trig., logarithms.
 1753 (John Lewis, N. Y.): Geom., trig., mensuration.
 1754 (John Lewis, N. Y.): Geom., trig., mensuration.
 1754 (William Dawson, Phila.): Mensuration, "use of Gunter's rule."
 1755 (John Searson, N. Y.): Geom., trig., mensuration.
 1755 (Andrew Lamb, Phila.): Trig.
 1757 (William Thorne, Phila.): Mensuration.
 1757 (Jos. Stiles, Wm. Ranstead, Phila.): Mensuration.
 1757 (Andrew Morton, Phila.): Alg.
 1758 (James, and Sam. Giles, N. Y.): Alg., geom.
 1758 (John Vinal, Boston): Alg.
 1759 (James, and Sam. Giles, N. Y.): Alg., geom., conic sec., mensuration.
 1760 (R., and D. Kennedy, J. Maxfield, Phila.): Alg., geom., trig., conic sections.
 1760 (William Oliphant, Phila.): Mensuration.
 1760 (William Dawson, Phila.): Geom., trig., plain or sliding Gunter.
 1761 (William Thorne, Phila.): Alg., mensuration.
 1763 (Samuel Giles, N. Y.): Alg., geom., trig.
 1763 (John N. Hutchins, N. Y.): Geom., trig., mensuration.
 1764 (William Thorne, Phila.): Trig., mensuration.
 1764 (Willian Cockburn, N. Y.): Geom., trig.
 1764 (Samuel Giles, N. Y.): Alg., trig.
 1765 (James McCarrell, N. Y.): Trig.
 1765 (Thomas Carroll, N. Y.): Alg., geom., trig., con. sec., mensur.
 1766 (Thomas Carroll, N. Y.): Alg., geom., trig., con. sec., mensur.
 1766 (Alexander Power, Phila.): Alg., geom., trig., con. sec., calculus.

- 1766 (John Pope, Boston): Trig., mensuration.
 1770 (Robert Patterson, Phila.): Alg., geom., calculus.
 1771 (Andrew Porter, Phila.): Alg., geom., trig., mensuration.
 1771 (Christopher Colles, Phila.): Alg., geom., trig., conic sections,
 mensur.
 1773 (David Ellison, Phila.): Alg., geom., trig.
 1774 (John Heffernan, Phila.): Alg., geom., trig., logarithms, cal-
 culus.
 1774 (Thos. Byerley, Jos. Day, N. Y.): Geom., trig., mensuration.

It is evident that, in point of time, the lower schools were well abreast of the colleges in the teaching of mathematics. In the colleges, mathematics, in most instances, was a pure science; elsewhere, the mathematical subjects were studied with reference to practical purposes. Many of the schools listed above gave instruction in dialling, gauging, fortifications, gunnery, optics, navigation, and surveying; and for such courses, algebra, geometry, logarithms, mensuration, trigonometry, conic sections, and calculus were necessary. These subjects were very popular throughout the eighteenth century, and the widespread demand for instruction in "all Parts of the Mathematicks" is indicated by the large number of schools in which they were offered.

CHAPTER V

THE TEACHING OF GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY IN COLONIAL AMERICA

In a letter to Henry Barnard, March 10, 1840, Noah Webster says:

You desire me to give you some information as to the mode of instruction in common schools when I was young, or before the Revolution . . . No geography was studied before the publication of Dr. Morse's small books on that subject, about the year 1786 or 1787. No history was read, as far as my knowledge extends, for there was no abridged history of the United States.¹

Relying on this, and other testimony, Meriwether writes: "The Boston preacher who revived such pleasant flavors of pre-Revolutionary schools, and Noah Webster who can be so safely accepted both were unable to remember any geography in their youthful school days. So it was in Pennsylvania according to the educational historian of that state."² A similar statement is made by Boone: "Except the incidental information gathered into readers and grammars, no instruction was afforded in this subject before the 'Universal Geography' of Jedidiah Morse (1784)."³

On January 26, 1727, a Boston master advertised his intention of establishing "a boarding School," in which "He doth propose to keep an Usher, and to Teach Writing, Cyphering, Latin, French, Geography &c. so that the Young People in the same Place may

¹Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, XIII, 123.

²Meriwether, C. *Our Colonial Curriculum* (Washington, D. C., 1907), 140.

The "Boston preacher" is mentioned in Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, II, 79, as "an eminent clergyman who was educated in the best schools of Boston, public and private, just before the Revolution." In a "memorandum" (*Ibid.*, 80), he says: "The last two years of my school life nobody taught English Grammar or Geography, but Col. Joseph Ward . . . who was self-taught, and set up a school in Boston."

The "educational historian" of Pennsylvania refers to Wickersham, J. P. *A History of Education in Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, Pa., 1886), 201: "Geography received very little attention in the schools of Pennsylvania before the appearance of the books of Smiley and Olney, accompanied by Atlases, about the year 1825."

³Boone, R. G. *Education in the United States* (N. Y., 1900), 68.

Jedidiah Morse's *Geography Made Easy* was published at New Haven, 1784. Apparently, Noah Webster had forgotten the date. Cf. Swett, John. *American Public Schools* (N. Y., 1900), 155: "Morse's *Geography* . . . The preface to the first edition, dated New Haven 1789 (sic!), is interesting reading."

Learn what they are feign to Learn now in several Places.”⁴ In 1734, “Alexander Malcolm, Master of the Grammar School in the City of New York,” announced the inclusion of geography in his curriculum.⁵ Theophilus Grew, of Philadelphia, in 1735, taught geography, with “the Use of Globes, Maps, Planispheres.”⁶ In 1743, Charles Fortesque, also of Philadelphia, and Nathan Prince, of Boston, were offering instruction in this subject.⁷

Geography was taught in many schools during the eighteenth century. A list of thirty will, in some measure, indicate its popularity:⁸

1. Benjamin Leigh, and Garrat Noel, N. Y. C., 1751
2. Reinhold Jan Klockhoff, N. Y. C., 1751
3. Bartholomew Rowley, Burlington, N. J., 1751
4. John Lewis, N. Y. C., 1754
5. Simón Williams, Phila., 1759
6. William Hanna, Albany, N. Y., 1761
7. William Cockburn, N. Y. C., 1764
8. Edward Riggs, Kingston, N. Y., 1765
9. Peter Wilson, N. Y. C., 1765
10. Thomas Carroll, N. Y. C., 1765-66
11. Alexander Power, and John Downey, Phila., 1766
12. Peter Webster, Phila., 1766
13. Francis Daymon, Phila., 1770
14. James Conn, Elizabethtown, N. J., 1771
15. Andrew Porter, Phila., 1771

⁴Boston News Letter, Jan. 6-Feb. 2, 1727.

⁵New York Gazette, Dec. 30, Jan. 7, 14, 21, 1734.

⁶Pennsylvania Gazette, May 29-June 5, 1735.

⁷Ibid, Nov. 24, Dec. 1, 6, 15, 20, 1743.

⁸Boston News Letter, Mar. 3, 10, 17, 1743.

⁹The following order will save space: (1) N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, Jan. 21, 28, 1751; (2) Ibid, Apr. 22, 1751; (4) N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Jan. 21, Feb. 11, 25, 1754; (7) Jan. 12, Feb. 16, 1764; (6) N. Y. Mercury, Nov. 23, 1761; (8) Ibid, Apr. 22, 29, 1765; (9) Ibid, Apr. 22, 29, 1765; (10) Ibid, May 6, 13, 20, Sept. 30, Oct. 7, 1765; May 12, 19, June 2, 1766; (14) N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Oct. 28, Nov. 4, 11, 1771; (21) Ibid, Sept. 7, 14, Oct. 5, 1772; N. Y. Journal, Feb. 17, 1774; Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, May 4, June 1, 15, 22, 29, July 14, 21, 27, 1775; (3) Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 10, 1751; (5) Ibid, Aug. 2, 9, Sept. 6, 1759; (11) Ibid, Oct. 2, 9, 1766; (12) Ibid, Dec. 18, 1766; (13) Ibid, Nov. 29, 1770; (15) Ibid, Nov. 21, 1771; (16) Sept. 12, 1771; (17) Ibid, June 13, 1771; (18) Ibid, Sept. 26, 1771; (19) Ibid, Sept. 30, 1772; (20) Ibid, May 28, Dec. 9, 1772; (23) Ibid, May 19, 1773; (22) Essex Gazette, July 14-21, 21-28, 28-Aug. 4, 1772; (24) Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, Nov. 4, 11, 25, Dec. 2, 1773; (25) Ibid, Feb. 17, 1774; (26) Ibid, July 21, 1774; Apr. 20, 27, 1773; (27) Ibid, July 7, 14, 21, 1774; (28) Ibid, Oct. 6, 1774; (29) N. J. Gazette, May 27, 1778; (30) Md. Journal and Balto. Advertiser, Sept. 15, 29, 1778.

16. Magùire, and Power, Phila., 1771
17. Samuel Blair, Phila., 1771
18. Christopher Colles, Phila., 1771
19. Alexander Power, and William Power, Phila., 1772
20. John Wilson, Newark, Del., 1772
21. John Peter Tetard, N. Y. C., 1772-75
22. Charles Shimmin, Salem, Mass., 1772
23. William Linn, Phila., 1773
24. "Grammar School," Schenectady, N. Y., 1773
25. Thomas Byerley, and Josiah Day, N. Y. C., 1774
26. Mrs. Joseph Cozani, N. Y. C., 1774
27. John Copp, "The Grammar School," Flatbush, N. Y., 1774
28. Gollen, and Mountain, N. Y. C., 1774
29. Joseph Periam, "The Academy," Elizabethtown, N. J., 1778
30. J. Hunt, Bladensburg, Md., 1778

Clifton Johnson says: "In colonial days geography was spoken of as 'a diversion for a winter's evening,' and acquaintance with it was considered an accomplishment rather than a necessity."⁹ In ninety-seven instances of the teaching of geography, in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, between the years 1734 and 1774, I found no reference to the subject as "a diversion for a winter's evening." It may have been considered an "accomplishment" for girls, in the colonial period, but, from some standpoints, that may also be said of both girls and boys of the present day. For practical purposes, the need of the

⁹Johnson, Clifton. *Old-Time Schools and School-Books* (N. Y., 1904), 318. He continues: "Some rudimentary instruction in the science was occasionally given at the more advanced schools, but the topic was not taken up in the elementary schools until after the Revolution."

Earle, Alice M. *Child Life in Colonial Days* (N. Y., 1899), 147: "Geography was an accomplishment rather than a necessary study, and was spoken of as a diversion for a winter's evening. Many objections were made that it took the scholar's attention away from 'cyphering.' It was not taught in the elementary schools till this century. Morse's *Geography* was not written till after the Revolution."

Crawford, Mary C. *Social Life in Old New England* (Boston, 1914), 30: "But in colonial days this branch of knowledge was regarded rather as 'a diversion for a winter's evening' than as a necessary part of the school curriculum. Not until after the Revolution was the topic taken up in the elementary schools."

An interesting recommendation of geography, for girls, was written by Benjamin Rush, in his essay entitled "Thoughts upon Female Education," 1787 (Rush, Benjamin. *Essays. Literary, Moral, and Philosophical*. Phila., 1798, p. 79): "An acquaintance with geography and some instruction in chronology will enable a young lady to read history, biography and travels, with advantage; and thereby qualify her not only for a general intercourse with the world, but to be an agreeable companion for a sensible man."

young woman of "colonial times" for geography differed in degree rather than in kind from that of the young woman of today. The cultural value of geography has not changed materially.

Thomas Carroll, of New York City, 1765, who offered geography to "young Ladies and Gentlemen," referred to it as "that useful Branch of Knowledge;"¹⁰ and John Peter Tetard, also of New York City, 1772-75, included it among "some of the most useful Sciences."¹¹

Furthermore, geography *was* a "necessity" for the youth who studied navigation. With geometry, trigonometry, and astronomy, it was an accepted part of the training of the navigator. James Conn, of Elizabethtown, N. J., 1771, in connection with his course in navigation, taught "also the most useful and most difficult Part of Geography, viz. Drawing Maps and Charts, either Plain, Mercator, Spherical or Conical; together with their Explanation, and the Reason why each Kind are drawn in the Manner in which they are."¹² In the same year, Maguire and Power, of Philadelphia, gave instruction in "the use of globes and maps, and how to make maps."¹³

There seems to have been some small demand for private tuition in geography. A New York advertisement, of 1768, asks for "AN INSTRUCTOR, to teach three young Ladies Writing, Arithmetic, and Geography, every Day, or every other Day, for about two Hours in the Morning at their own Lodgings."¹⁴ One "I. S.," of Philadelphia, 1772, informs "the PUBLIC" that he would teach geography, and certain other subjects, "by the Hour, in any Gentleman's Family."¹⁵ In another instance, it was offered by "A YOUNG MAN" seeking a place, "either public or private."¹⁶

The following announcement of a course of lectures, to be given in the hall of the American Philosophical Society, may be of interest:

A GEOGRAPHICAL LECTURE

The Subscriber proposes to deliver a Course of Lectures, upon the pleasant and useful Science of Geography, at the Philosophical Society's Hall, in Second-

¹⁰N. Y. Mercury, May 6, 13, 20, Sept. 30, Oct. 7, 1765.

¹¹N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Sept. 7, 14, Oct. 15, 1772.

¹²Ibid, Oct. 28, Nov. 4, 11, 1771.

¹³Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 12, 1771.

Many atlases of Europe and Asia, containing maps (some "colour'd"), and many separate maps of American cities and colonies, were sold in this country from the beginning of the eighteenth century.

¹⁴N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, July 18, Aug. 1, 1768.

¹⁵Pennsylvania Gazette, Jan. 23, 1772.

¹⁶Ibid, Aug. 10, 1774.

street; The first Lecture on Monday next precisely at Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon, and again at Six o'Clock in the Evening; the second Lecture on Tuesday, at the same Place and Hours. In this Course will be most clearly explained the Figure, Magnitude, and Motion of the Earth and Moon, the different Lengths of the Days and Nights, the Vicissitudes of the Seasons, the Phases of the Moon, and Theory of the Winds and Tides, and of the Causes thereof.

Tickets to be had of the Printers hereof, at the Bar of the London Coffee-House, or Mr. Dunlap, Printer of the Pennsylvania Packet, and of the Lecturer, at Five Shillings each, for the whole Course.

CHRISTOPHER COLLES.¹⁷

Colles was a well-known teacher of mathematics in Philadelphia. Various announcements give evidence of his popularity as a lecturer in the field of natural philosophy.¹⁸

The reader may recall Noah Webster's observation on the study of history: "No history was read, as far as my knowledge extends, for there was no abridged history of the United States."¹⁹ Clifton Johnson remarks that "History was not taken up in the schools until the nineteenth century was well begun."²⁰

History was offered in Boston as early as 1734, by Louis Langloiserie, who had already established his reputation as a teacher of French.²¹ The subject appears also in the courses of study announced by Simon Williams, of Philadelphia, 1759; Messrs. Gollen and Mountain, of New York City, 1774; Mrs. Joseph Cozani, of New York City, 1774-75; and the Rev. Mr. Panton, of New York City, 1779.²²

¹⁷Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 13, 1772.

¹⁸Ibid, Mar. 5, 1772: "a Course of Lectures on Pneumatics."

Ibid, Sept. 5, 1772: "Colles' Hydraulic Lectures will begin again on Monday."

¹⁹Barnard's American Journal of Education, XIII, 123.

Meriwether, C. Our Colonial Curriculum (Washington, D. C., 1907), 145: "we have the word of that veteran of letters, Noah Webster, that in the schools so far as he knew them before the Revolution there was no history."

Of course, there was no history of the United States before the Revolution, but there were histories of North America, although unabridged. In addition many histories of New England, the various colonies, Great Britain, and the principal foreign countries were printed in this country between 1639 and 1770. Histories of North America were published by William Douglass (3 vols. Boston, 1747-49. Republished 1750, 1751, 1753), Ellis Huske (Boston, 1755), and Samuel Nevill (Woodbridge, N. J., 1761).

²⁰Johnson, C. Old-Time Schools and School-Books (N. Y., 1904), 371.

Cyclopedia of Education (ed. by Paul Monroe), II, 118-119: "English grammar, history, and geography were not taught till the latter part of the colonial period, when the educational outlook began to change."

²¹Boston Gazette, July 8-15, 15-22, 22-29, 1734.

See Chapter I.

²²N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 18, 1779. For the others, see nos. 5, 26, 27, in the list of masters teaching geography.

Francis Daymon, of Philadelphia, 1770,²³ and John Peter Tetard, of New York City, 1772-75, taught "ancient and modern History."²⁴

In an essay, entitled "Some Thoughts of Education," published in Philadelphia, 1735, the author remarks that the "Qualifications requisite to Trade, Commerce, and the Business of the World are seldom or never to be had at Grammar Schools," in which Latin is emphasized. Among the subjects which he recommends for "a Youth . . . before he go Apprentice" are geography and history.²⁵

Although it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the teaching of geography and history in the colonial colleges, it may not be inappropriate to remind the reader that both subjects were recommended in Benjamin Franklin's "Proposals," published August 24, 1749.²⁶ Lengthy consideration is given the values of the study of history, in this document. The Philadelphia Academy opened January 7, 1751, with both subjects appearing in the curriculum.²⁷ They were given a place, also, in the course of study, of 1756, drawn up by the first Provost of the College and Academy.²⁸ Dr. Samuel Johnson, first President of Kings College, included geography and history in his plan of studies for the opening of the college, in 1754.²⁹ History was taught at Harvard before 1643.³⁰ The first program contains no reference to geography, but it was offered during Wads-

²³No. 13, in geog. list.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 10, 1751. It is probable that history was included in the course in cosmography, "That universal Comprehension of Natural and Civil Story," given by Bartholomew Rowley, "at his School," in Burlington, N. J.

N. Y. Packet, and American Advertiser (Fishkill), June 13, 1782. Isaac Rysdyk, master of a Latin School, in "the township of New-Hackensack, Dutchess County," taught "The Roman and Greek Antiquities, the outlines of history, geography, oratory, and other branches of polite learning."

²⁴No. 21 in geog. list.

²⁵American Weekly Mercury, Dec. 31-Jan. 7, Jan. 7-14, 1735.

See Appendix A, for complete text of this essay.

²⁶Pennsylvania Gazette, Aug. 24, 1749.

²⁷Ibid, Dec. 18, 1750.

²⁸Ibid, Aug. 12, 1756.

²⁹N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, June 3, 1754.

³⁰New England's First Fruits. London, 1643 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st Series, I, 245).

John Knowles, in a letter to John Leverett, May 1, 1675: "Alderman Ashurst hath about 50 books of history for the College from Mr. Baxter." (North American Review, CVII, 572.)

worth's presidency, 1725-37.³¹ Instruction in geography was given at Yale, in 1727,³² and at Princeton, in 1750.³³

The titles of many histories, and of a smaller number of geographies, printed, here and abroad, between the years 1650 and 1770, will be found in published book-sellers' advertisements and memoranda of purchases and sales, catalogs of libraries, diaries, notebooks, wills, bibliographies of books printed in colonial America, and other check lists. They are convincing evidence of the interest of the colonists in these subjects. In time a demand for instruction in geography and history developed. The dates at which they were introduced in the lower schools are unknown. It is certain that they did not appear in the town schools, or common schools, of the period. In this, as in other instances, the private schools were the first to respond to the educational needs of the time.

³¹Wadsworth's Diary (Ms. in Harvard College Library).

³²An "Acc't of Books yt William Adams put up to carry to College, Nov. 5, 1726" appears in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, I, 43. On Oct. 23, 1727, "He carryed . . . Gordon's Geographical Grammar." The full title is "Geography Anatomized, or the Geographical Grammar. Being a short and exact Analysis of the whole Body of Modern Geography."

³³Joseph Shippen's Letters (Ms. in Princeton University Library).

CHAPTER VI

THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS IN COLONIAL AMERICA

The legal attitude toward the education of girls in colonial America was highly conservative. In general, public provision was lacking; town schools were, in most cases, established especially for the education of boys. Some few towns, however, did permit girls to attend the elementary schools, either with the boys, or at "separate hours." Here they received instruction in spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, and "the principles of Christian religion." Town schools offering a more advanced curriculum were not open to girls until late in the eighteenth century.

Some typical remarks on the education of girls during the colonial period may be of interest at this point:

1. If they could sew, that was the "height of their ambition," for the bulk. They were not fit to go to the same school with their brothers, nor were they worthy of masculine example in the teacher. They got their smattering either at home or in "Marm schools," or "Dame schools," under the fostering hand of "Vestal maidens."

2. And so matters stood, with the Dame schools supreme in matters of female education, until well toward the time of the Revolution.²

3. An education for girls beyond sewing and reading, and coordinate with that of boys, was not seriously considered by the eighteenth century.³

4. The wife of John Adams (born 1744) probably speaks of a situation somewhat above the average. "Female education, in the best families, went no further than writing and arithmetic; in some few and rare instances, music and drawing."⁴

5. There is no satisfactory evidence as to the education of girls. It is certain that some town schools provided for them; but it is probable that some did not. In

¹Meriwether, C. *Our Colonial Curriculum, 1607-1776* (Washington, D. C., 1907), 24.

Small, W. H. *Early New England Schools* (Boston, 1914), 289. "It required nearly two hundred years from the founding of the first school to place girls on equal footing with the boys."

²Dexter, E. G. *A History of Education in the United States* (N. Y., 1904), 426.

³Fitzpatrick, E. A. *The Educational Views and Influence of DeWitt Clinton* (N. Y., 1911), 43.

Inglis, A. *Principles of Secondary Education* (Boston, 1918), 181. "In colonial times secondary or higher education for girls was entirely lacking."

⁴*Cyclopedia of Education* (ed. Paul Monroe), II, 121.

Quoted, also, by Goodsell, W. *The Education of Women* (N. Y., 1923), 12. *Ibid*, 11-12: "the education of girls was pretty strictly limited to religious and moral instruction and training in domestic duties."

many localities the education of girls, at least before the Revolution, must have been confined to the dame schools. Before the close of the eighteenth century, "most New England towns had made some provision for the education of girls, either in short summer terms, or at the noon hours, or other interval, of the town (boys') school. But no such opportunity was afforded girls to make the most of themselves, as had been forced upon most boys for a half dozen generations." Private schools for "misses" were rare.⁵

To be brief, these statements are either misleading, or erroneous. The writers state, or imply, that there were no educational opportunities for girls other than those afforded by the dame schools, or by curricula limited to the alphabet, spelling, reading, writing, sewing, and religious instruction.

The actual situation, revealed by evidence of the sort presented in this paper, was somewhat different. Widely scattered throughout the colonies were private schools of all grades, in which girls might receive instruction in any subject for which there was a demand. These schools were most numerous, of course, in the larger centers of population.

In some of the private schools, open to girls as well as boys, only writing, and arithmetic were taught. Samuel Grainger, of Boston, in 1727, who "last week . . . began Evening School, for Writing, Arithmetick, Book Keeping, Navigation, Etc.," announced that "Such Young Women who cannot attend his Day School, may also be taught Writing and Accompts a part."⁶ John Sims, of Newport, Rhode Island, proposed, in 1759, to open "a separate School . . . in the Afternoon (each Day except Thursday and Saturday) from Five till half after Six, for the Instruction of young Ladies in Writing and Arithmetic."⁷ In New York City, William Jones announced, in 1763, that "He hath likewise set apart from Four to Six o'Clock in the Afternoon, for the Benefit of young Ladies who may be already advanced but not thoroughly perfect in Arithmetick, and the writing of English with good Orthography."⁸

⁵Finney, R. L. *The American Public School* (N. Y., 1921), 12.

⁶Boston Gazette, Sept. 11-18, 1727.

South Carolina Gazette, Aug. 8-15, 1754.

Boston Gazette and Country Journal, June 30, July 7, 1766. John Pope: "His School opens for Writing and Arithmetic at the customary Hours for both Sexes."

Ibid, May 9, 1768: "John Griffith Teaches Misses Writing, Arithmetic, and Spelling at his School."

Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News Letter, Mar. 18, 1773. John Fenno: "At the Writing School in King Street, young Ladies and Gentlemen may be taught Writing, Arithmetic, and Spelling."

⁷Newport Mercury, May 22, June 5, 1757.

⁸New York Mercury, Apr. 25, May 2, Nov. 21, 28, 1763.

New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, April 16, 23, 30, May 7, 14, 21,

The most popular elementary course, for "young Persons of both Sexes," comprised reading, writing, and arithmetic,—the traditional "lower Branches." A typical announcement of such a school is that of Samuel Holbrook, of Boston, in 1763, who "informs the Publick, That he continues to keep his School on Court-Square in King-Street—where Youth may be well instructed in Writing, Arithmetick, and Reading—will open at six in the Morning, for the Benefit of young Ladies, or others who shall incline to attend at that Hour."⁹

Many establishments were "for young Ladies only." Matthew Maguire, of Philadelphia, opened a school of this type, in 1770:

AS I have discovered sundry inconveniences to result from teaching YOUTH of both sexes, and having been frequently solicited by several respectable families in this city, to establish a school, for the instruction of YOUNG LADIES only, in READING, WRITING, ARITHMETIC, and ACCOMPTS; I have opened a school for said purpose in LAETITIA-COURT; contiguous to Front, Second and Market-streets. As the utility of such an undertaking (properly conducted) is undeniably evident, I hope for the encouragement of the public, which I shall endeavour to deserve, by a constant assiduity to promote the improvement of my pupils in the aforesaid branches, as also in having the strictest regard to their morals.—Such misses as are obliged to attend other schools, I shall take for half days.

MATTHEW MAGUIRE

N. B. As I have already engaged a considerable number of young ladies, those who intend to apply are requested to be speedy, as I am determined to take no more than such a number as I shall be able to give proper attendance to. A night school is opened at the above place for young men.¹⁰

Maguire appears to have received the desired "encouragement;" in the following year, he styles himself "Preceptor to the Ladies."¹¹ John Griffith, of Boston, announced, April 13, 1767, that he "Begins

June 4, 1767. Hugh Hughes: "a Morning and Evening School, for the Instruction of Youth in Writing, Arithmetic . . . It is imagined that this Plan may suit some of both Sexes, who attend other Places of Education at different Periods, for other Purposes."

⁹Mass. Gazette and Boston News Letter, Apr. 28, 1763.

Newport Mercury, Dec. 26, 1763. Maurice Towel: "young Men and Women, Boys and Girls, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic."

¹⁰Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 25, 1770.

¹¹Ibid, Sept. 5, 1771.

Ibid, June 6, 1771: "Matthew Maguire, Instructor of young Ladies . . . is extremely happy in having some reason to believe that many instances of improvement in his pupils has evinced the advantages resulting to misses from being instructed in a seminary by themselves."

Ibid, Aug. 16, 1759: "At WILLIAM'S SCHOOL . . . a separate School for young Ladies . . . Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic."

Ibid, Jan. 13, 1763. Edward Jones "intends . . . for the future to admit none but Ladies."

Ibid, Sept. 19, 1771. William and Priscilla Fentham: "a school for Girls."

School for Misses this Day at his usual Place, and teaches Spelling, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic."¹²

The boarding schools for girls were more pretentious institutions. An excellent illustration of their announcements follows:

J. and M. TANNER

Desire to inform the public that they intend removing on the first of May next, to the house belonging to, and at present in the occupation of Mrs. Lyne, in Smith Street, near the corner of Wall Street, which, having an airy pleasant location, and every other requisite convenience for the purpose, will be fitted as a

BOARDING SCHOOL
FOR
YOUNG LADIES

where they will be tenderly and politely accomodated, and instructed in READING, after the rules of the best grammarians; particular care will be taken to remove ill-habits, correct vicious pronounciation, and to enable them to read any English author with propriety and elegance.

WRITING, in all the useful and ornamental hands, in which branch, epistolary correspondence (that very essential, tho' much neglected part of female education) will be introduced, as an established part of their exercises.

ARITHMETIC, will be made familiar, by a method adapted to their capacities. the want of which renders that study generally disgustful, and consequently often ineffectual.

NEEDLE-WORK of all kinds.

MUSIC, dancing, drawing, French, tambour-work, and every other polite accomplishment, will be taught by capable persons, who are engaged for these purposes.

The mode of education adopted is similar to that of the most approved English BOARDING SCHOOLS; and the success with which it is attended, evinces its utility; the subscribers presume that in the conduct of it (during a course of four years) they have acquitted themselves to the advantage of the pupil, and satisfaction of the parent; and beg leave to assure those who shall be pleased to entrust them, that the attainment of those desirable ends shall ever engage their assiduous attention, and a conscientious discharge of the trust they solicit, mark the gratitude they wish to express for favours received, and their desire to approve themselves the Public's

Most obliged humble Servants,

J. & M. Tanner.¹³

¹²Boston Gazette and Country Journal, Apr. 13, 1767.

Newport Mercury, Apr. 20-27, 1767. Thomas Green: "School for Girls only." Ibid, May 3, 1773. Peleg Barker: "morning and afternoon school for young Misses."

Essex Gazette, Apr. 20-27, 1773. Edward Norice: "A SCHOOL for young Ladies."

¹³Rivington's New York Gazetteer, or Connecticut, New Jersey, Hudson River, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, Feb. 24, Mar. 3, Apr. 7, 14, 1774.

South Carolina Gazette, Aug. 8-15, 1754.

Newport Mercury, Dec. 19, 1758. Sarah Osborn: "BOARDING SCHOOL."

Boston Weekly News Letter, June 29, 1769: "A Boarding School for YOUNG LADIES is opened by MARY SPEAKMAN at MARLBOROUGH."

Essex Gazette, July 12-19, 1774.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 17, 1773.

William, and Sarah Long, "From London," opened a "BOARDING & DAY SCHOOL," in New York City, in 1774, "for educating YOUNG LADIES in reading, writing, arithmetic, needle work &c. Also the TAMBOUR completely taught in GOLD, SILVER, SILK, and COTTON."¹⁴

Occasionally, girls attended evening schools with the boys. On November 1, 1774, "The young LADIES and GENTLEMEN," of Salem, Massachusetts, were "informed that Mr. Hopkins intends to open an Evening School Monday next, at 7 o'Clock."¹⁵ Two years later, John Vinal, of Newburyport, announced that he "Intends to begin his EVENING SCHOOL for Youth of both Sexes the first Monday Evening in November next, at the North School House."¹⁶

Evening schools for girls only were not infrequent. William Dawson, of Philadelphia, in 1756, "continues his private school in the same place . . . where also will be kept an evening school . . . for the improvement of young ladies in writing, arithmetick, and psalmody, to commence from Monday the 5th of April, and to continue for the summer season, between the hours of five and eight."¹⁷ In the same year, Robert Cather, also of Philadelphia, opened "an Evening School . . . for the instruction of young Ladies in writing, arithmetick, and to improve them in the rules of spelling and reading with propriety."¹⁸ Another Philadelphia master, ten years later, conducted "an Evening School . . . for the Reception of young Ladies only, where will be taught English grammatically, Writing, Accounts."¹⁹

¹⁴Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Jan. 27, Feb. 3, 24, Mar. 3, 31, 1774.

¹⁵Ibid, Nov. 2, 1775.

¹⁶Ibid, Apr. 21, 28, 1774. Simeon and Catherine Lugin.

¹⁷Ibid, "Mrs. Beau's boarding school."

¹⁸Ibid, July 21, 1774; Apr. 20, 27, 1775.

¹⁹Pennsylvania Gazette, Jan. 17, 1776. Mrs. Brodeau.

²⁰N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 14, 21, 28, Feb. 4, 11, 1771.

²¹Ibid, July 30, 1781: "BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL for young Ladies."

²²Essex Gazette, Oct. 25–Nov. 1, 1774.

²³South Carolina Gazette, Sept. 17, 1744.

²⁴Ibid, Nov. 5, 1744.

²⁵Essex Journal and New Hampshire Packet, Oct. 25, Nov. 1, 1776.

²⁶Pennsylvania Gazette, Dec. 20, 1770; Sept. 5, 1771.

²⁷Pennsylvania Gazette, Apr. 15, 1756.

²⁸Ibid, May 3, 31, June 14, 28, 1753.

²⁹Connecticut Gazette and Universal Intelligencer, May 14, 1776.

³⁰Pennsylvania Gazette, Mar. 25, 1756.

³¹Ibid, Feb. 13, 1766.

Naturally, such subjects as drawing, painting, singing, instrumental music, sewing, and embroidery played an important part in the education of girls. But they did not take the place of the traditional curriculum; they were the accepted "accomplishments" of the period. In 1744, Nathaniel and Mary Gittens, of Charleston, South Carolina, "open'd a School . . . where will be taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and several sorts of Needle work. They likewise intend to commence an Evening School . . . for writing, arithmetic, and young Ladies to draw."²⁰ Boston announcements of 1716, and 1738 include "Painting on Glass," and dancing.²¹ A Philadelphia schoolmistress, in 1745, taught "young Ladies to draw in every Kind, and to paint upon Silk, and Japan upon Glass or Wood."²² Mrs. Shackerly, in New York City, gave instruction in "the beautiful and pleasing art of painting gauze, &c."²³ In a Philadelphia school, of 1755, tuition was given in "Drawing and miniature painting with water colours, flowers, insects, &c.---to imitate nature in the most lively manner, by mixing and applying colours to the utmost beauty and advantage.---Likewise to draw patterns for embroidery, or any of needle work."²⁴

Vocal, and instrumental music appear frequently in the curricula for girls. Singing schools, conducted, in most cases, in the evening, were everywhere popular.²⁵ Many of these were open to "the Publick, but the Female Sex in particular." A Boston school, of 1712, offered instruction in "Treble Violin, Flute, Spinnet, &c." in addition

²⁰South Carolina Gazette, Sept. 17, 1744.

Ibid, Nov. 5, 1744. Jeremiah Theus: "The Art of DRAWING."

Ibid, Aug. 8-15, 1754. Mary Logan "teaches to Read and Draw."

N. Y. Mercury, May 2, 9, 1763. Stephen Dwight: "the several Branches of Drawing."

²¹Boston News Letter, Aug. 20-27, 1716.

Boston Gazette, Jan. 30-Feb. 6, 1738.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, July 21, 1774; Apr. 20, 27, 1775: "there will be masters for music, dancing and writing."

Essex Gazette, July 12-19, 1774.

²²Pennsylvania Gazette, Dec. 14, 18, 25, 1744; Jan. 15, 22, 29, 1745.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, July 21, 1774: "paint upon silk."

²³N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, July 30, 1781.

²⁴Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 30, 1755.

²⁵Ibid, Apr. 5, 12, May 3, 31, June 14, 28, 1753; Apr. 15, 1756.

Ibid, Mar. 25, 1756.

Ibid, Apr. 17, 1766.

N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 31, 1756.

Boston Gazette and Country Journal, Feb. 15, 22, 1768.

Essex Gazette, Jan. 26-Feb. 2, 1773.

to "Writing, Cyphering, Dancing . . . English, and French Quilting, Imbroidery, Florishing, Plain Work, Marking in several sorts of Stitches, and several other works."²⁶ John Matthias Kramer, of Philadelphia, in 1755, taught "Gentlemen and Ladies . . . to play on the violin after the Italian manner, with a peculiar method of bowing, and shifting in solo's and concerto's."²⁷

The widespread, and long-continued demand for needle-work is abundantly indicated in the records. This "necessary and polite Art" included "every Kind of useful and ornamental NEEDLE WORK:" plain work, darning, quilting, embroidery, "Feather Work, Filegre . . . Turkey-Work for Handkerchiefs two Ways . . . Brocaded Work for Handkerchiefs," making of artificial flowers, "Dresden flowering on catgut, shading with silk or worsted on cambric, lawn, or Holland," tent stitch, samplers, crowning, flourishing on muslin, point, tambour.²⁸ Obviously, the term "needle-work" was rather comprehensive; it implied a wide range of accomplishment.

But the education of girls was not restricted to the curriculum indicated in the preceding paragraphs. It included a more advanced type of reading, English grammar, "epistolary writing," geography, history, and penmanship, as well.

It would appear, from the following announcement, of August 29, 1751, by David James Dove, Professor of English at the Philadelphia Academy, that girls were admitted to the Academy proper:

As the Scheme formed by the Gentlemen of Philadelphia, for the regular Education of their Sons, has been happily carried into Execution; the Ladies excited by the laudable example, are solicitous that their Daughters too might be instructed in some Parts of Learning, as they are taught in the Academy. Mr. Dove proposes to open a school at said Academy for young Ladies, on Monday next, in which will be carefully taught the English Grammar; the true Way of Spelling, and Pronouncing properly; together with fair Writing, Arithmetick, and Accounts:

²⁶Boston News Letter, Mar. 2-9, 1712.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, May 5, June 16, 1774.

²⁷Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 30, 1755.

²⁸Boston News Letter, Aug. 20-27, 1716.

N. Y. Gazette, June 14-21, 1731.

N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, June 22, Aug. 3, 1747.

N. Y. Mercury, May 20, 1765.

Ibid, May 6, 13, 20, Sept. 30, Oct. 7, 1765.

Boston Gazette and Country Journal, Apr. 7, 1766.

Pennsylvania Gazette, June 12, 1766.

So that the Plan recommended by the Universal Spectator may be exactly pursued. Price Ten Shillings Entrance and Twenty Shillings per Quarter.²⁹

Although no reference to this appears in the Minutes of the Trustees, the plan must have been approved by that body.³⁰ That the "school at said Academy for young Ladies" was not part of the Academy plan, but was wholly a private venture of Mr. Dove's, is indicated in Benjamin Franklin's "Observations relative to the intentions of the original founders of the Academy in Philadelphia:"

The performances were surprisingly good, and of course were admired and applauded; and the English School thereby acquired such reputation, that the number of Mr. Dove's scholars soon amounted to upwards of ninety, which number did not diminish as long as he continued master, viz: upwards of two years; but, he finding the salary insufficient, and having set up a school for girls in his own house to supply the deficiency, and quitting the boys' school somewhat before the hour to attend the girls, the trustees disapproved of his so-doing, and he quitted their employment, continued his girls school, and opened one for boys on his own account.³¹

Newspaper announcements indicate that Dove continued his school after leaving the Academy, July 10, 1753.

In "a BOARDING and DAY SCHOOL for young Ladies," in New York City, Simon and Catherine Lugin taught "reading after the best grammatical rules, with elegance and propriety."³² Joseph Periam, master of the Academy," at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, announced, in 1778, that "young gentlemen and ladies who have made some little progress in reading, will be taught reading with propriety and gracefulness."³³

The foundation-subject for "reading with elegance and propriety" was English grammar. Its popularity with the "young Ladies"

²⁹Pennsylvania Gazette, Aug. 29, 1751.

Girls were taught "Reading, Writing, and Sewing" in one of the two charity schools of the "College, Academy, and Charity School of Philadelphia." (Provost Smith's "account of the College and Academy," in *The American Magazine*, October, 1758, p. 630 ff.)

³⁰Montgomery, T. H. A History of the University of Pennsylvania (Phila., 1900), 144.

³¹Sparks, J. The Works of Benjamin Franklin (10 Vols. Boston, 1836-40), II, 143.

³²Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Apr. 21, 28, 1774.

Ibid, Mar. 24, 1774: "to enable them to read any English author with propriety."

Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 11, 1766: "reading . . . in the properest Manner agreeable to the Rules of Pointing."

³³New Jersey Gazette, May 27, 1778.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, July 30, 1781: "young Ladies . . . will be taught to read English with propriety."

N. Y. Packet and American Advertiser, Nov. 20, 1783: "teach young Ladies the English Grammar, proper Reading."

of the period is indicated in many school announcements. Edward Jones, of Philadelphia, in 1763, who "admits none but Ladies," offered instruction in "English Grammar."³⁴ In the same year, his namesake, William Jones, of New York City, taught "The English Language by Grammar Rules, wherein a true Orthography and an early Taste of its Elegance and Propriety shall be particularly attended to."³⁵ An interesting announcement by a Philadelphia schoolmaster throws some light upon his method of instruction:

SIMON WILLIAMS

Begs Leave to inform the Public,

THAT in the Month of July, 1759, when he first advertised his School in this City, he set forth in the News-Paper his Intention of teaching the English Tongue to young Gentlemen and Ladies, grammatically, according to that excellent, easy and familiar Method laid down in Greenwood's judicious Essay upon Grammar.

His design was wholly frustrated by the Want of the Book, which was not to be sold at that Time in this Place.—He has now furnished himself with a sufficient Number of the Royal English Grammars, which he will sell, at prime Cost, to any Person that is desirous to have their Sons and Daughters taught by him a grammatical Knowledge of their Mother Tongue.

The Advantages that will be received by this Method of Education, beyond the common forms now made Use of, are needless to relate. On this Plan the Advertiser now intends to open a new School, which will be wholly managed by himself; resolving (by God's Assistance) to pursue his Business with indefatigable Care and Diligence.

Every Week, on Thursday, from Four o'Clock to Six, he will lecture on the English Tongue to his Pupils who study Grammar; at which Time, the Parents or any other Persons, if they think fit, may attend to observe their Proficiency.

From my School, in Videl's Alley, Second-street.

Philadelphia, December 24, 1760.³⁶

Closely allied to English grammar, in the curricula elected by girls

³⁴Pennsylvania Gazette, Jan. 13, 1763.

Ibid, Feb. 13, 1766: "Evening school for young Ladies only . . . English grammatically."

Ibid, Apr. 17, 1766. Carruthers and Hoffneur: "School . . . for the Reception of young Ladies."

Ibid, June 6, 1771.

³⁵N. Y. Mercury, Apr. 25, May 2, Nov. 21, 28, 1763.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 14, 21, 28, Feb. 4, 11, 1771: "English grammatically."

Ibid, Apr. 22, 29, May 6, 1771: "School for young Ladies . . . English grammatically."

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Apr. 20, 27, 1775.

³⁶Pennsylvania Gazette, Jan. 1, 1761.

Newport Mercury, July 10, 17, 24, 1769. Ebenezer Bradford: "the English Language grammatically."

New England Chronicle, July 4, 11, 1776.

Royal Gazette, Apr. 25, 1781: "the English tongue according to the rudiments of the best English Grammarians."

was "Epistolary Writing."³⁷ The course concerned itself with the forms of polite correspondence, "with due Regard for the Rules of grammatical English."

Ordinarily, the purpose of writing, as taught with spelling, reading, and arithmetic, in schools of elementary grade, was to equip the student with nothing more than "a good legible Hand." In many of the private schools, open to girls, "the Art of Writing," comprised "all the modern Hands."³⁸ It included not only the usual "square and round Hands," but also "ornamental" penmanship, with its elaborate "flourishing."

Geography appears in the curricula for girls announced by Mr. Jackson, of New York City, in 1765,³⁹ and Mrs. Joseph Cozani, in 1774.⁴⁰ A New York City advertisement, of 1768, indicates the demand, in one instance, for home tuition in this subject:

WANTED

AN INSTRUCTOR, to teach three young Ladies Writing, Arithmetic, and Geography every Day, or every other Day, for about two Hours in the Morning, at their own Lodgings.

Apply to the Printer.⁴¹

History was included among the courses offered in Mrs. Cozani's boarding school.⁴²

Girls, as well as boys, studied Latin. It was not, in any sense, reserved for those who were preparing for college. In Philadelphia, John Salomon, "from Paris," opened a school, in 1736, in which he taught Latin, and French. He announced that he would "give due

³⁷Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Feb. 24, Mar. 3, Apr. 7, 14, 1774.

New England Chronicle, May 23, 30, 1776.

Ibid, July 4, 11, 1776.

³⁸N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Oct. 23, 30, Nov. 13, 27, Dec. 4, 1748; Jan. 8, 15, 22, Apr. 2, 16, 23, 30, 1759.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Apr. 5, 12, May 3, 31, June 14, 28, 1753: "writing in all the hands of use."

Ibid, Sept. 8, Dec. 8, 22, 1757: "all the different Hands now in Use."

Ibid, Sept. 30, 1772: "WRITING in all the modern hands."

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Feb. 24, Mar. 3, Apr. 7, 14, 1774: "WRITING in all the useful and ornamental hands."

³⁹N. Y. Mercury, Apr. 22, 29, 1765.

Ibid, May 12, 19, June 2, 1766. Thomas Carroll.

⁴⁰Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, July 21, 1774; Apr. 20, 27, 1775.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 30, 1772.

New Jersey Gazette, May 27, 1778.

⁴¹N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, July 18, Aug. 1, 1768.

⁴²See also: Boston Gazette, July 8-15, 15-22, 22-29, 1734: "knowledge of some agreeable parts of History."

Attendance on Gentlemen and Ladies, who design to be instructed in either of these Languages at their respective Lodgings.”⁴³ Another Philadelphian, Francis Daymon, “Master of the French and Latin Languages,” gave instruction to “Gentlemen and Ladies in those useful Languages in the newest and most expeditious Method.”⁴⁴ In April, 1773, Daymon advertised a “Morning Class, in which young Ladies only are to be admitted.”⁴⁵ Frederic Rothenbuhler, of New York City, “continues teaching young Gentlemen and Ladies the Latin and French Languages as usual.”⁴⁶

The modern languages were represented by French, German, Italian, and Portuguese. In 1744, John Eliot, of Philadelphia, advised “ALL Gentlemen and Ladies, who are desirous of being instructed in the French and Portuguese Languages, that they may be taught with the utmost Diligence and Expedition, either at their own Rooms, or at his Lodgings.”⁴⁷ John Matthias Kramer, also of Philadelphia, proposed, in 1755, “to open a School . . . for the instruction of Gentlemen and Ladies in . . . French, Italian, and German.”⁴⁸ German was also offered to the “young Gentlemen and Ladies” of Philadelphia by Adalbert Ebert.⁴⁹

Throughout the colonial period, the most popular of the modern tongues was “the polite French language . . . being now-a-days part of the education of young Ladies.” A Philadelphia advertisement of 1722 gives “Publick Notice . . . That there is lately arrived in this City one Mrs. Rodes who will teach any Young Ladies or Gentlewomen to read and write French to perfection.”⁵⁰ In her notice of the following year, Mrs. Rodes announced that she “gives Attendance from Nine in the Morning till Twelve, and in the After-

⁴³American Weekly Mercury, June 10-17, 17-24, June 24-July 1, 1736.

⁴⁴Pennsylvania Gazette, Dec. 20, 1770; Feb. 21, Apr. 25, Sept. 5, Oct. 3, 1771; June 9, Nov. 17, 1773.

⁴⁵Ibid, Apr. 14, 1773.

⁴⁶N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, July 8, 1762.

⁴⁷Royal Gazette, Apr. 25, 1781. William Kerr conducted a “Public School . . . for both sexes,” in which he taught “the Latin tongue.”

⁴⁸Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 27, Oct. 4, 11, 1744.

⁴⁹Ibid, Oct. 30, 1755.

⁵⁰Ibid, Mar. 25, 1762.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, July 21, 1774. French, and Italian.

⁵⁰American Weekly Mercury, May 16-23, 1722.

Ibid, June 10-17, 17-24, June 24-July 1, 1736.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 4-11, 11-18, 18-25, Mar. 4-11, 1735.

Ibid, Sept. 27, Oct. 4, 11, 1744.

noon, if any Gentlemen require it, at their Houses."⁵¹ M. Louis Langloiserie, who kept a "French School Three Days in the Week at Cambridge, and Three Days in Boston, in 1734, had "a Room purposely provided" for "young Ladies . . . curious of learning that Language."⁵² Three years later, Langloiserie gave "Attendance in the Afternoon to the Young Ladies."⁵³

Peter Papin de Prefontaine, "Professor of the FRENCH Language," in Philadelphia, 1752-58, taught "the French Language grammatically."⁵⁴ James John Folquier, in 1756, "teaches it after the best Method of Pronunciation, and the Manner of speaking it which is now used among the French."⁵⁵ In New York City, William Clajon, in 1761, proposed "to give a true Pronunciation to his Scholars, and to enable them to translate French into English, and English into French, so as to fit them to improve afterwards without any other Help, than the Method he will advise them to take."⁵⁶ John Girault, in 1773, instructed "his pupils in all the variations of this polite tongue, after the rules of the most approved grammars, founded on the decisions of the Academy at Paris."⁵⁷

⁵¹American Weekly Mercury, May 16-23, June 6-13, June 27-July 4, 1723.

⁵²Boston Gazette, July 8-15, 15-22, 22-29, 1734.

Boston News Letter, Mar. 18-25, Mar. 25-Apr. 2, Apr. 8-15, 1736.

New England Weekly Journal, July 18, 1738.

Boston Gazette, May 2, 9, 1757.

⁵³Boston Gazette, Dec. 12-19, 1737; Jan. 2-9, 1738.

Essex Gazette, July 12-19, 1774.

New England Chronicle, May 23, 30, 1776.

Ibid, July 4, 11, 1776.

⁵⁴Pennsylvania Gazette, June 11, 18, July 2, 16, 23, 1752; Mar. 23, Apr. 20, 1758.

Ibid, July 11, 1754.

Ibid, May 31, June 14, 1759.

Ibid, Apr. 21, 1763.

⁵⁵Pennsylvania Gazette, June 3, 1756.

Ibid, Apr. 25, 1771.

Ibid, Sept. 19, 1771.

Ibid, Jan. 17, 1776.

Ibid, Apr. 4, 11, 1777.

⁵⁶N. Y. Mercury, Jan. 26, 1761.

N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 31, 1756.

Ibid, July 8, 1762.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, July 19, 22, Aug. 19, 1771.

Ibid, Apr. 22, 29, May 6, 1771.

Ibid, Jan. 14, 21, 28, Feb. 4, 11, 1771.

Ibid, Sept. 21, 1772.

⁵⁷Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Oct. 7, 14, 1773.

Ibid, Feb. 24, Mar. 3, Apr. 7, 14, 1774.

Ibid, Apr. 21, 28, 1774.

Ibid, June 16, 1774.

Strange as it may seem, book-keeping occurs frequently in the curricula announced for girls. William Dawson, of Philadelphia, in 1753, opened a school for girls, "to teach writing . . . arithmetick vulgar and decimal, merchants accounts, psalmody."⁵⁸ Book-keeping was offered in his "evening school for young Ladies," established two years later.⁵⁹ Matthew Maguire, also of Philadelphia, conducted a "school for the instruction of YOUNG LADIES only, in READING, WRITING, ARITHMETIC and ACCOMPTS."⁶⁰ In Alexander and William Power's night school, in 1772, "BOOK KEEPING" was taught "in the newest and most approved method now taught in Dublin." They announced in an "N. B.," to their advertisement, that "Girls will be admitted at night school."⁶¹ Girls studied "Book-keeping in the usual and Italian Methods" in the "English School" of the Newark Academy, in 1775.⁶²

With the evidence at hand, the reader may question the statements reproduced at the beginning of this paper. It is not true that the dame schools were "supreme in matters of female education until well toward the time of the Revolution." Many school announcements of the eighteenth century indicate that girls *did* go "beyond reading and sewing." Both day, and evening schools were open to them, offering instruction in any subject they wished to pursue. Obviously, some courses were more popular than others, but this was determined, in all cases, by individual choice. The most popular subjects seem to have been reading, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, English grammar, geography, and French.

Because public provision is lacking, one writer assumes that "There is no satisfactory evidence as to the education of girls." The same writer says that "Private schools for 'misses' were rare." Perhaps they were "rare," but that depends on the sense in which the word is used. If it refers to the number of such schools, it is used

⁵⁸Pennsylvania Gazette, Apr. 5, 12, May 3, 31, June 14, 28, 1753.

N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Apr. 28, May 5, 12, 19, June 2, 1755.

Ibid, Apr. 5, 12, 19, 26, May 3, 10, 17, June 14, 1756.

⁵⁹Pennsylvania Gazette, Apr. 10, 1755.

Ibid, Feb. 4, 18, 1755.

⁶⁰Ibid, Oct. 25, 1770.

Ibid, June 6, 1771.

⁶¹Ibid, Sept. 30, 1772.

N. Y. Mercury, Apr. 25, May 2, 1763.

Ibid, Apr. 22, 29, 1765.

Ibid, May 6, 13, 20, Sept. 30, Oct. 7, 1765.

⁶²Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn. N. J., H. R., and Q. Weekly Advertiser, Mar. 23, 1775.

incorrectly. Private schools for girls were *numerous*. My own collection contains over two hundred announcements of private schools for "young Ladies," from 1722 to 1776. There must be many more.

The "wife of John Adams (p. 1, excerpt 4) is not a reliable witness, in this connection. Her remarks (written in 1817) may have been true so far as the "best families" were concerned, but girls from other families availed themselves of larger opportunities. Abigail Adams was undoubtedly sincere, but she was not very well informed on educational conditions at that time.

Too much reliance has been placed upon laws, and town records, as sources of information. Certain writers have been guilty of faulty inferences (1) from lack of public provision, (2) from prohibitory action by public authorities, and (3) from action permitting girls to receive instruction in the rudiments only. As a matter of fact, throughout the eighteenth century, girls were demanding, and receiving tuition in subjects not offered to them in town schools.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRIVATE SCHOOLMASTER IN COLONIAL AMERICA

One writer remarks that "The poorest teachers were to be found in the private schools, many of them being itinerant teachers. Others were of the so-called 'indentured white servants' class--poor men or criminals sent over from England and sold for a certain number of years of labor, usually four or five, to pay for their passage. These were let out by their purchasers to conduct a school, the proceeds of which went to their owners."¹

Much has been made of these latter, the "indentured white servants," who taught in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the southern colonies.² They have appealed to writers and readers alike. A newspaper advertisement, of 1735, will illustrate the manner of securing teachers of this class:

Any Person who has a Servant to dispose of that is a Scholar, and can teach Children Reading, Writing, and Arithmetick, may hear of a Purchaser by enquiry of the Printer hereof.³

As may be expected, many of these servants ran away from their masters before their periods of service had expired.⁴

¹Cubberley, E. P. *Public Education in the United States* (N. Y., 1919), 34.

²Boucher, J. *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* (London, 1797), 183-184.

Fiske, J. *Old Virginia and her Neighbours* (Boston, 1898), II, 248-249.

Neill, E. D. *Terra Mariae* (Phila., 1867), 212.

Powell, L. P. *The History of Education in Delaware* (U. S. Bur. Ed., Circ. Inf., 1893, No. 3), 36-37.

Steiner, B. C. *History of Education in Maryland* (U. S. Bur. Ed., Circ. Inf., 1894, No. 2), 34.

³*Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan. 28, Feb. 4, 1735.

Maryland Gazette, Feb. 17, 1774. "To be sold, a schoolmaster and indentured servant, who has got two years to serve."

From the "Diary of John Harrower, 1773-1776" (*American Historical Review*, VI, 72): "Wednesday, 26 (Jan. 1774). This day I being reduced to the last shilling I hade was obliged to engage to go to Virginia for four years as a school-master for Bedd, Board, washing and five pounds during the whole time."

⁴*American Weekly Mercury*, June 12-19, 1729.

Ibid., Aug. 29-Sept. 5, 1734.

Pennsylvania Gazette, July 8, 15, 1742.

Ibid., Aug. 6, 1753.

N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Jan. 14, Feb. 4, 11, 1754.

The servant schoolmaster appears in Maryland as late as 1786:

Men and Women Servants

JUST ARRIVED

In the Ship Paca, Robert Caulfield, Master, in five Weeks from Belfast and Cork, a number of healthy Men and Women SERVANTS.

Among them are several valuable tradesmen, viz.

Carpenters, Shoemakers, Coopers, Blacksmiths, Staymakers, Bookbinders, Clothiers, Diers, Butchers, Schoolmasters, Millwrights, and Labourers.

Their indentures are to be disposed of by the Subscribers,

Brown, and Maris,

William Wilson.⁵

Baltimore, May 29, 1786.

This practice seems to have occasioned some surprise to the editor of a Massachusetts paper. As soon as a copy of the Baltimore notice fell into his hands, he published a comment on it, for the amusement of his readers.⁶

Itinerant teachers were not, necessarily, "poor" teachers. It has never been unusual for schoolmasters to move from city to city. William Clajon taught in Annapolis for a few years before coming to New York City in 1761.⁷ At the beginning of his career in New York, he submitted to an examination "at the College in this City by the Revd. Mr. Carle Minister of the French Church, and the Revd. Mr. Testart, another French Minister, in the Presence of the Revd. Doctor Johnson, President of the College, and fully satisfied them of his Capacity."⁸ William Elphinstone appears to have kept school in several cities before "settling down." In 1753, he was in New York City,⁹ and in the following year, he moved to Philadelphia.¹⁰ He returned to New York early in 1755,¹¹ but left for Boston at the middle of the year.¹² In the spring of 1756, he was established in New York,¹³ again, and two years later, in Philadelphia.¹⁴ Returning

⁵Maryland Gazette or Baltimore Advertiser, May 30, June 6, 13, 1786.

⁶Essex Journal and Massachusetts, and New Hampshire General Advertiser, June 28, 1786. "Now for SCHOOL-MASTERS.

In the Ship Paca arrived at Baltimore in five weeks from Belfast and Cork are imported and advertised for Sale in the Maryland Journal of June 2d, various Irish Commodities, among which are SCHOOL-MASTERS--Beef--Port and Potatoes."

⁷Maryland Gazette, Nov. 4, 1754.

⁸Ibid, Apr. 28, 1757.

⁹N. Y. Mercury, Jan. 26, Nov. 2, 1761.

¹⁰Ibid, May 19, 26, 1766.

¹¹N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Oct. 15, 22, 29, Nov. 12, 19, Dec. 3, 1753.

¹²Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 26, Oct. 10, 1754.

¹³N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Jan. 6, 13, 20, 27, 1755.

¹⁴Boston News Letter, July 17, 24, 1755.

¹⁵N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Apr. 26, May 10, 17, 1756.

¹⁶Pennsylvania Gazette, Apr. 27, 1758.

to New York in 1758, he remained there for almost twenty years.¹⁵ John Vinal, of Boston and Newburyport, was another itinerant who was well-received during his day.¹⁶

Some of the private schoolmasters possessed abilities for which there was a ready market in colonial America. They often served as public accountants, scriveners, and translators.¹⁷ Others were popular as public lecturers, or readers.¹⁸

It seems reasonable to assume that the best private schoolmasters received their training in the lower schools, and colleges. Others were prepared by self-study, or merely by inspiration. In one instance, at least, apprenticeship was used as the mode of preparation. The indenture is reproduced here, because it is unique:¹⁹

Registered for Mr. George Brownell School-
master ye 18th day of July 1722

This Indenture Wittneseth that John Campbel Son of Robert Campbell of the City of New York with the Consent of his father and mother hath put himself

¹⁵N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 22, 29, June 5, 12, 26, July 3, 1758. Ibid, May 17, 31, 1764.

N. Y. Mercury, July 22, 29, Aug. 3, Sept. 14, 21, 28, Dec. 7, 14, 1761.

Ibid, Apr. 14, May 19, Aug. 4, 11, 1766.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, Aug. 31, 1775.

¹⁶Boston Gazette and Country Journal, Sept. 13, 27, 1756.

Boston Post Boy and Weekly Advertiser, Oct. 9, 1758; Sept. 10, 17, 24, 1759.

Essex Journal and New Hampshire Packet (Newburyport), Oct. 25, Nov. 1, 1776.

M. Delile taught French in Boston, Cambridge, and Newport (Newport Mercury, Aug. 23, 30, 1773).

Francis Vandale appears in Boston, Newport, and New York City (Mass. Gazette, Mar. 3, 1774; Newport Mercury, Oct. 3, 10, 17, 1774; Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, Oct. 26, Nov. 9, 16, 1775).

¹⁷Seybolt, R. F. The Evening School in Colonial America (Univ. of Illinois, 1925), 52-54.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 10, 16, 24, 1743. Joseph Crellius, teacher of German: "I continue to publish my Weekly German News-Paper, which I began May last."

¹⁸Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 13, 1766. Joseph Redman: "will commence the first part of that celebrated Lecture on Heads, which gained universal Applause in England."

Ibid, Nov. 27, 1766. Philip Keyl: "A Course of Theological Lectures."

Ibid, Mar. 5, 1772. Christopher Colles: "A Course of Lectures on Pneumatics . . . at the Philosophical Society's Hall."

Ibid, Sept. 9, 1772. Colles: "Hydraulic Lectures will begin again on Monday next."

Ibid, Sept. 29, 1773. Colles was the inventor of a furnace "for extracting iron from its ore," and also of a "simple machine to raise water to gentlemen's seats, and to water meadows."

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, June 22, 30, July 7, 1774. Thomas Byerley, and Josiah Day, N. Y.: "a course of lectures on these most interesting subjects," astronomy, and geography.

¹⁹For my study on apprenticeship, I examined over six hundred indentures, but found only one of this sort.

and by these presents doth Voluntarily put and bind himself Apprentice to George Brownell of the Same City Schoolmaster to learn the Art Trade or Mystery and with the Said George Brownell to Serve from the twenty ninth day of May one thousand seven hundred and twenty one for and during the Term of ten years and three Months to be Compleat and Ended During all which term the said Apprentice his said Master and Mistress faithfully Shall Serve their Secrets keep and Lawfull Commands gladly everywhere obey he Shall do no damage to his said Master or Mistress nor suffer it to be done by others without Letting or Giving Notice thereof to his said Master or Mistress he shall not Waste his said Master or Mistress Goods or Lend them Unlawfully to any he shall not Committ fornication nor Contract Matrimony within the Said Term at Cards Dice or any other unlawfull Game he shall not Play: he Shall not absent himself by Day or by Night from his Said Master or Mistress Service without their Leave; nor haunt Alehouses Taverns or Playhouses but in all things behave himself as a faithfull Apprentice ought to Do towards his said Master or Mistress during the Said Term. And the said George Brownell Doth hereby Covenant and Promise to teach and Instruct or Cause the said Apprentice to be taught and Instructed in the Art Trade or Calling of a Schoolmaster by the best way or means he or his wife may or can if the Said Apprentice be Capable to Learn and to find and Provide unto the Said Apprentice sufficient meat Drink Apparel Lodging and washing fitting for an Apprentice during the Said Term: and at the Expiration thereof to give unto the Said Apprentice one Suit of Cloth new Consisting of a coatvest coat and Breeches also one New hatt Six New Shirts Three pair of Stockings one pair of New Shoes Suitable for his said Apprentice. In Testimony Whereof the Parties to these Presents have hereunto Interchangeably Sett their hands and Seals the third day of August in the Eighth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George King of Great Brittain &c. Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred and Twenty One. John Campbel. Signed Sealed and Delivered in the presence of Mary Smith Cornelius Kiersted Memorandum Appeared before me John Cruger Esq. Alderman and One of his Majesties Justices of the Peace for this City and County. John Campbell and Acknowledged the within Indenture to be his Voluntary Act and Deed New York the 9th Aprill 1722.

John Cruger.²⁰

In 1731, George Brownell taught "Reading, Writing, Cyphering, Merchants Accounts, Latin, Greek, &c."²¹ An advertisement of 1733 gives "Notice, that George Brownell continues his School."²²

There were fully as many authors among the private teachers in colonial America as there were among the public schoolmasters. The following appear prominently in the notices of the time:

Isaac Greenwood. *A Friendly Debate: or a Dialogue between Academicus, and Sawney and Mundungus, two eminent Physicians, about some of their late Performances.* Boston, 1722.

Isaac Greenwood. *An Experimental Course on Mechanical Philosophy.* Boston, 1726.

²⁰Citty of N. Yorke Indentures, begun February 19, 1694 and ends Jan. ye 29th 1707, 145-147 (Ms. folio preserved at the city hall of New York City).

²¹N. Y. Gazette, June 14-21, 1731.

²²N. Y. Weekly Journal, Feb. 18, 1733.

The name George Brownell appears in school-notices of Boston, 1712; N. Y., 1731, 1733; Phila., 1736; and Charleston, S. C., 1744. The George Brownell of Boston, 1712, was Benjamin Franklin's teacher.

Isaac Greenwood. *Arithmetick, Vulgar and Decimal; with the Application thereof to a Variety of Cases in Trade and Commerce.* Boston, 1729.

Isaac Greenwood. *A Philosophical Discourse concerning the Mutability and Changes of the Material World.* Boston, 1731.

Isaac Greenwood. *Prospectus of Explanatory Lectures on the Orrery.* Boston, 1734.²³

Nathan Prince. *An Answer to Lesley, and his late Interpolator's Discourse concerning Episcopacy.* Boston, 1724.

Nathan Prince. *An Essay to solve the Difficulties that attend the several Accounts given by the Evangelists concerning our Saviour's Resurrection . . .* Boston, 1734.

Nathan Prince. *The Constitution and Government of Harvard College; from its Foundation in 1636 to 1742.* Boston, 1742.²⁴

Thomas Ball. *The following Tables, viz. 1. A Table for knowing the Gender of Nouns by their Terminations. 2. A Table for the forming of Tenses. 3. A Table of all the irregular Verbs. 4. A Table representing the Terminations of the simpler Tenses of the Verbs.* Philadelphia, 1730.²⁵

Alexander Malcolm. *A New System of Arithmetick.* London, 1730.²⁶

Garrat Noel. *A Short Introduction to the Spanish Language.* New York, 1751.²⁷

Garrat Noel. *A true Translation of the Spanish Bulls, or a Form of the Pope's Absolution.* New York, 1751.²⁸

Theophilus Grew. *The Description and Use of the globes, celestial and terrestrial; with variety of examples for the learner's exercise; intended for the use of such persons as would attain to the knowledge of those instruments; but chiefly for the instruction of the young gentlemen at the Academy in Philadelphia. To which is added, Rules for working all the cases in plain and spherical triangles without a scheme. . .* Germantown, Pa., 1753.²⁹

William Dawson. *The Youth's entertaining Amusement, or a plain Guide to Psalmody.* Philadelphia, 1754.³⁰

Peter Papin de Prefontaine. *A Direct Guide to the French Language.* Philadelphia, 1756.³¹

David James Dove. *The Lottery. A Dialogue between Mr. Thomas True-man and Mr. Humphrey Dupe.* Germantown, 1758.

²³Evans, C. *American Bibliography*, I, 2339, 2746, 3170; II, 3426, 3776.

²⁴Ibid, I, 2581; II, 3830, 5041.

²⁵Ibid, II, 3249.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Mar. 5-12, 1730.

²⁶Alexander Malcolm conducted a private school before his appointment as master of the Public Grammar School of New York City, in 1732.

²⁷N. Y. *Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy*, June 3, 10, 1751.

Evans, C. *American Bibliography*, III, 6741.

²⁸N. Y. *Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy*, Jan. 14, 1751.

²⁹Evans, C. *Amer. Bibliog.*, III, 7012.

For many years Grew compiled almanacs. John N. Hutchins, and William Ball also published almanacs.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 14, 21, 28, Nov. 4, 18, 25, 1742; Mar. 10, 17, 24, 1743. "In a short Time will be published a Description of GUNTERS-SCALE, and its Use in NAVIGATION and ASTRONOMY, by Theophilus Grew, Teacher of the MATHEMATICS in PHILADELPHIA."

³⁰Evans, C. *Amer. Bibliog.*, III, 7181.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 19, Oct. 10, 1754.

³¹Ibid, Oct. 28, Nov. 11, 1756.

Evans, C. *Amer Bibliog.*, III, 8011.

David James Dove. The Addition to the Epitaph, without the Copper-Plate. (A broadside) Philadelphia, 1764.

David James Dove. The Quaker Unmask'd; or Plain Truth; Humbly Address'd to the Consideration of all the Freemen of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1764.³²

William Clajon. A compendious Grammar of the English Language. Annapolis, Md., 1754-60 (?), or New York, 1761 (?).³³

William Thorne. A new Set of Copies in the large modern Round Text, for the Use of Schools. Philadelphia, 1763.³⁴

Thomas Powell. The Writing Master's Assistant. Philadelphia, 1764.³⁵

Francis Daymon. The Conjugation of French Verbs, grounded on the decision of the French Academy. Philadelphia, 1770.³⁶

Thomas Byerley. A Plain and Easy Introduction to English Grammar. New York, 1773.³⁷

de Saint Pry. English and French Grammar. New York, 1774(?).³⁸

Nicholas Pike. A new and complete system of arithmetic, composed for the use of citizens of the United States. Newburyport, Mass., 1788.³⁹

John Vinal. Preceptor's Assistant. Boston, 1792.⁴⁰

It may be true that "the poorest teachers were to be found in the private schools," but it may also be said that many of the best teachers, from the standpoint of preparation, were to be found in private schools.⁴¹ Some of the private schoolmasters were college graduates:⁴² Nathan Prince (Harvard, 1718; M.A., 1721), Isaac Greenwood (Harvard, 1721; M.A., 1724), Joseph Kent (Harvard, 1731; M.A., 1734), Nicholas Pike (Harvard, 1766), John Beard

³²Evans, C. Amer. Bibliog., III, 8114, 9645, 9646.

³³Maryland Gazette, Nov. 4, 1754; Apr. 28, 1757.

N. Y. Mercury, Jan. 26, Nov. 2, 1761.

³⁴Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 13, 1763.

Evans, C. Amer. Bibliog., III, 9522.

³⁵Ibid, III, 9801.

Pennsylvania Gazette, July 12, 1764.

³⁶Ibid, Dec. 20, 1770.

³⁷Evans, C. Amer. Bibliog., IV, 12704.

³⁸Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, Apr. 27, May 4, 1774.

³⁹Evans, C. Amer. Bibliog., VII, 21394. After graduating from Harvard, in 1766, Pike opened a private school.

⁴⁰Ibid, VIII, 24962.

See note 16.

⁴¹Cubberley (*Public Education in the United States*, 54) speaks of "the indifferent type of teachers found in most of the pay schools before 1775." Why 1775? Why not 1785, 1795, 1805? The "teachers found in most of the" town schools were also "indifferent." In his *History of Education* (N. Y., 1920), p. 452, he says: "The following advertisement of a teacher for sale is typical of private-adventure elementary school-keeping during the colonial period." Such advertisements are *not* typical! Teachers of this sort were unknown in New York, and the New England colonies.

⁴²Dates and degrees will be found in alumni catalogues of Harvard, Pennsylvania, Princeton, and Yale.

(Pennsylvania, 1759; M.A., 1762),⁴³ John Wright (Princeton, 1752), Benoni Bradner (Princeton, 1755; M.A., 1758, also Yale, 1758),⁴⁴ Joseph Periam (Princeton, 1762; M.A., 1765),⁴⁵ Simon Williams (Princeton, 1763; M.A., 1766), Tapping Reeve (Princeton, 1763; M.A., 1766; LL.D., 1813, also Middlebury, 1808),⁴⁶ Ebenezer Pemberton (Princeton, 1765; M.A., 1768, also Yale, 1781, Dartmouth, 1782, Harvard, 1782; LL.D., Allegheny, 1817),⁴⁷ Stephen Voorhees (Princeton, 1765; M.A., 1768),⁴⁸ Richard Devens (Princeton, 1767), Josiah Stodard (Princeton, 1767; M.A., 1770), Francis Barber (Princeton, 1767; M.A., 1770),⁴⁹ Samuel E. McCorkle (Princeton, 1772; D.D., Dickinson, 1792),⁵⁰ Peter Wilson (Princeton, 1778), John Walton (Yale, 1720).

French and English were offered in New York City, 1772, by "A Gentleman, Native of Paris, who took the Degree of Master of Arts at the University, and lately taught in Nassau Hall, New

⁴³John Beard was elected an Usher of the Latin School of the Academy and College of Philadelphia, in 1759. Resigned 1761. (Montgomery, T. H. History of the University of Pennsylvania. Phila., 1900. p. 343).

Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 8, 15, 22, 1783. John Beard: "A Day School, Just opened, all for young Ladies."

⁴⁴N. Y. Packet, and American Advertiser (Fishkill), Sept. 26, Oct. 3, 10, 1782. Benoni Bradner, master of a "public school" in "the precinct of Goshen, Orange County," N. Y.

⁴⁵Joseph Periam was master of the Nassau Hall Grammar School, 1764-65; tutor at Princeton, 1765-66, 1768-69; Clerk of the Board of Trustees, 1765-66.

New Jersey Gazette, May 27, 1778. "The ACADEMY which used to be kept in this town will be opened again on the first day of June, by Mr. Joseph Periam, who for several years conducted it with such deserved applause . . . James Caldwell, in behalf of the Visitors, Elizabeth-Town, May 18, 1778."

⁴⁶Master, Nassau Hall Grammar School, 1765-66; tutor, Princeton, 1769-70; Chief Justice Connecticut Supreme Court, 1814-15.

⁴⁷Master, Nassau Hall Grammar School, 1766; tutor, Princeton, 1767-69.

N. Y. Mercury, Oct. 20, 1766. "The Grammar School which hath for some Time past been taught at Elizabeth-Town, to universal Acceptance, by Mr. T. Reeve, is proposed to be kept for the future upon a more enlarged Plan; Mr. Reeve having now been joined for that Purpose, by Mr. Pemberton, late Master of the Grammar School in New Jersey-College."

⁴⁸N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Apr. 10, 1766. "Stephen Voorhees, A. M.," master of a "Latin School" at Hackensack.

⁴⁹Adjutant General to Lord Sterling, 1778; later Adjutant General to General Sullivan, and to Major General Greene.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, Mar. 10, 1774. Francis Barber, master of "the first Grammar School" in Elizabethtown, N. J.

⁵⁰Trustee, Univ. of North Carolina, 1789-1801.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Dec. 21, 28, 1772. "There is a Grammar School lately opened at Goshen . . . taught by Mr. Samuel McCorkle, graduated last fall at New Jersey College, and well recommended by the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon."

Jersey.”⁵¹ Andrew Lendrum, “Bachelor of Arts, late of Trinity College, Dublin . . . open’d School in New Brunswick,” New Jersey, in 1746.⁵² Anthony Fiva, of New York City, 1773-1775, announced that he had “had an academical education,”⁵³ and John Haumaid, “a regular education.”⁵⁴ And there were others who attached degrees to their names.⁵⁵

Although not a university graduate, Thomas Godfrey, who taught “Navigation, Astronomy and other Parts of the Mathematicks,” in Philadelphia, deserves a conspicuous place among private teachers.⁵⁶ His ability as a mathematician early attracted Benjamin Franklin’s attention, and when the famous “Junto” was formed, in 1727, Godfrey was included.⁵⁷ In 1744, he became one of the original members of the American Philosophical Society.⁵⁸ Upon his death, Franklin published the following notice in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 19, 1740:

“Last week died here Mr. THOMAS GODFREY, who had an uncommon Genius for all kinds of MATHEMATICAL learning, with which he was extremely well acquainted. He invented the *New Reflecting Quadrant* used in Navigation.” Godfrey’s invention, of 1730, was also made, quite independently, by Hadley in England, and communicated by him to the Royal Society in 1731. Upon investigation, the Society decided that both were entitled to the honor. This quadrant has since been known as Hadley’s, however.

Isaac Greenwood, who conducted a private school in Boston, became first professor of mathematicks at Harvard in 1727. After his dismissal for “intemperance,” not for incompetence, in 1738, he

⁵¹N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 18, 1772.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Aug. 10, 1774. “Wants a Place . . . a Young Man lately arrived from France where he has made his Studies and taken out his Letters of Master of Arts.”

⁵²Pennsylvania Gazette, Apr. 24, May 1, 15, June 26, July 3, 17, 1746.

⁵³Rivington’s N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, July 22, Aug. 12, Dec. 9, 16, 1773.

⁵⁴N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Sept. 21, 1772.

⁵⁵N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, Nov. 13, 20, 27, Dec. 4, 18, 25, 1749; Jan. 1, 8, 1750. “John Henry Goetchius, A. M.”

Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, Sept. 15, 29, 1778. “J. Hunt, A. M.”

N. J. Gazette, Aug. 5, 1778. “John Bogart, A. B.”

⁵⁶Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 30, Nov. 6, 20, 27, 1740.

⁵⁷See Franklin’s Autobiography, in Bigelow, J. Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin (Phila., 1887), I, 141-142.

⁵⁸Montgomery, T. H. History of the University of Pennsylvania (Phila., 1900), 18, 31.

Thomas Godfrey’s son, Thomas, wrote the first American play publicly produced in the colonies, the “Prince of Parthia,” 1767.

again opened a private school, which he continued for some years.⁵⁹ Nathan Prince, dismissed, in 1742, for the same reason, from his tutorship in mathematicks at Harvard, also turned to private teaching.⁶⁰ Another private schoolmaster, Louis Langloiserie, was called to Harvard, in 1735, as first professor of French. Later in the same year, he was dismissed for expressing "dangerous views," whereupon he reopened his private establishment.⁶¹ The Rev. John Peter Tetard kept a "Boarding School" in New York City before he became first professor of French at Columbia, in 1784.⁶²

Seven private schoolmasters were appointed on the faculty of the College and Academy of Philadelphia. In 1750, Theophilus Grew became first professor of mathematics at that institution.⁶³ The Provost, in "an account of the College and Academy of this place," remarked that Grew "has been so long an approved teacher of Mathematics and Astronomy in this city, that I need say nothing to make him better known than he is already."⁶⁴ At the same time, David James Dove was appointed "English Master." Dove had "taught grammar sixteen years at Chichester in England."⁶⁵ In 1753, he was obliged to resign because he neglected his duties as English master, in order to maintain a private school at the same time.⁶⁶

⁵⁹Boston Gazette, Mar. 26-Apr. 2, 2-9, 1739.

⁶⁰Boston News Letter, Mar. 3, 10, 1743.

The following lines from Goldsmith (*She Stoops to Conquer*) come to mind:

"Let schoolmasters puzzle their brain
With grammar, and nonsense, and learning;
Good liquor, I stoutly maintain,
Gives genius a better discerning."

⁶¹Boston Gazette, Dec. 12-19, 1737; Jan. 2-9, 12-19, 1738.

⁶²New England Weekly Journal, July 18, 1738.

⁶³N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Sept. 7, 14, Oct. 5, 1772. J. P. Tetard "has lately opened his Boarding School at his House . . . whatever is requisite to fit young Students for Admission into any College or University."

N. Y. Journal or General Advertiser, Feb. 17, 1774.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, May 4, June 1, 15, 22, 29, July 13, 21, 27, 1775.

A History of Columbia University, 1754-1904 (N. Y., 1904), 61. Tetard was appointed French interpreter to General Schuyler, and "Chaplain for the Troops in this Colony" by the New York Provincial Congress, 1775.

⁶⁵Montgomery, T. H. History of the University of Pennsylvania (Phila., 1900), 142.

Theophilus Grew served as professor of mathematics until his death, in 1759. At the first commencement, 1757, he was given the M. A. degree, *causa honoris*.

⁶⁴The American Magazine, Oct. 1758, 630 f.

⁶⁵Beardsley, E. D. Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D. D. (1874),

166. Benjamin Franklin, in a letter to Samuel Johnson, Dec. 24, 1751.

⁶⁶Montgomery, op. cit., 145.

David James Dove appears as the schoolmaster in S. W. Mitchell's "Hugh Wynne" (N. Y., 1898), 25-33.

Grew seems to have been permitted to conduct a private "Evening School," in 1753.⁶⁷ Horace Jones, who was associated with him in this venture, was appointed, in 1752, as his assistant in the "College and Academy."⁶⁸ In 1753, Andrew Morton was engaged as tutor in the Latin School, where he served for six years.⁶⁹ Alexander Power was appointed tutor in 1769,⁷⁰ William Oliphant in 1778,⁷¹ and John Heffernan in 1779.⁷²

The private schoolmasters in colonial America should not be condemned without fair trial. Records at hand will not permit a satisfactory comparison with the teachers in the town schools. It may be said of both, that some were well qualified, and some were not.

⁶⁷Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 20, 27, 1753.

⁶⁸Montgomery, op. cit., 150. Jones resigned in 1753.

⁶⁹Ibid, 269, 342.

⁷⁰Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 2, 9, 1766.

Ibid, Sept. 30, 1772. After resigning in 1772, Power returned to private teaching.

⁷¹Ibid, Sept. 25, Oct. 2, 1760; Sept. 17, 1761; Sept. 18, 1766; Sept. 27, 1770. Oliphant retired from the Pennsylvania faculty in 1780.

⁷²Ibid, Sept. 4, 1774.

Ibid, Dec. 24, 1782. Upon resigning in 1782, Heffernan, "formerly of the College and lately of the University of Pennsylvania" opened "An English and Mathematical Academy."

CHAPTER VIII

"PUBLIC," AND "PRIVATE" SCHOOLS IN COLONIAL AMERICA

Strictly speaking, a "public" school, in colonial America, was one that was open to all who might desire to enter. The "public" schools of the period were not, necessarily, schools established and controlled by any particular public. Most private-venture schools were "public."¹ The reason for this is obvious: most private schoolmasters were obliged to keep their class-rooms filled, in order to make their ventures profitable. A "private" school was limited with respect to the number, or personnel of its enrolment. Only those were admitted whom the master, or his patrons, selected.²

Many of the masters announced "public," and "private" hours. During the "private" hours, the students were taught singly, or in groups.³ "Private" classes were made up of children, or adults, who,

¹N. Y. Journal and General Advertiser (Poughkeepsie), Aug. 9, 16, 23, Sept. 6, 1779. "The public School at Claverack, called Washington School or Seminary, is now opened . . . The Trustees have fixed the price of tuition as low as possible."

Royal Gazette (N. Y.), Apr. 25, 1781. William Kerr "intends to open a Public School on the first day of May next."

²N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, 1770. "A Grammar School is now established at Middle Brook, in New Jersey, near the Seat of Philip Van Horne, Esq. . . . N. B. Mr. Van Horne, with some other neighbouring Gentlemen have engaged a Person regularly educated in Europe, for the Purpose of instructing their Children . . . He will take in six Children only, as the Gentlemen who encourage him think it best he should have but a moderate number to attend, so that the Pupils may have every Advantage of Improvement, as their Capacity may permit."

Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 30, 1772. Alexander, and William Power, Phila.: "As the subscribers have a prospect of a large genteel night-school, they have prepared two large rooms on the same floor, one of which will be for the reception of young men, and others who would not choose to study in a crowded school composed of boys of every denomination."

Ibid, May 19, 1773. Phila. "A PRIVATE ACADEMY, limited to the number of twelve young Gentlemen is just opened . . . A few Gentlemen in this city, who have fallen upon this plan, as a medium betwixt domestic and public education, the former affording too little stimulation to study, the latter dangerous to the morals of youth, and who make this application to the public, are desirous of a few boys to complete the above number."

³N. Y. Mercury, Nov. 23, 1761. Thomas Johnson, N. Y.: "has this day open'd a Day and Evening School . . . wherein he teaches Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, and Merchant's Accompts . . . Any Young Gentlemen or Ladies that have a Mind to be taught private, he has a convenient Room for that Purpose."

for various reasons, were congenial to each other. During certain "private" hours, or "between Schools,"⁴ the masters were willing to "go abroad," to instruct students "at their own Houses."⁵ The fees for individual instruction were higher than those for class-instruction.

During the colonial period, schools established by towns were not, as a rule, called "public" schools, except in the case of "the Public Grammar School." They were usually referred to as "town schools," or "common schools." Town schools were public in the sense that they were open to all. Supported by general taxation, or by "subscription," they belonged to the people, and might not limit their enrolment to students of any particular social stratum, or denominational affiliation.

⁴In the parlance of the time, the term "school" applied not only to the institution in which instruction was given, but also to a session of instruction.

N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, Nov. 13, 1752. Nicholas Barrington, N. Y.: "writes for Gentlemen between Schools."

Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 29, 1770. Francis Daymon, Phila.: "Gentlemen and Ladies . . . may be taught French at the most reasonable rates, at their own houses, at any hour not interfering with the business of the School."

Ibid, Sept. 5, 1771. Francis Daymon: "Those Ladies and Gentlemen who choose to be instructed at their respective places of abode, are humbly requested speedily to apply in order that it may be in his power to wait upon them, at convenient hours."

⁵N. Y. Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy, June 26, July 6, 13, 20, 1752. John N. Hutchins, and James Hutchins, N. Y.: "Any Gentlemen inclin'd to be instructed in their own Houses, may have Attendance given by one of us, at any Time before 8 in the Morning, and after 4 in the Afternoon, upon reasonable Terms."

N. Y. Gazette, or Weekly Post Boy, May 22, 29, June 5, 12, 26, July 3, 1758. William Elphinstone, N. Y.: "Such as do not attend the publick School may be taught at their own Houses in the Evening, at the Rate of Forty Shillings Currency per Month."

Ibid, Apr. 12, 1764. Samuel Giles, N. Y.: "Those who cannot, or do not choose to attend at the customary School Hours, may be taught from Twelve to One at Noon, and from Five to Six o'Clock in the Afternoon or at their own Houses."

New England Chronicle, May 23, 30, 1776. William Payne, Boston: "Such as choose to be attended at home may be waited on at such hours as shall be most convenient."

CHAPTER IX

"GRAMMAR SCHOOLS," AND "ACADEMIES" IN COLONIAL AMERICA

The Boston Latin Grammar School, established in 1635, is usually considered the type grammar school of the entire colonial period. It offered a strictly classical curriculum which came directly from England, and was continued, without substantial change, in this country, throughout the eighteenth century.

But the term "grammar school" was used to designate secondary schools which departed from this traditional form. At the "Grammar School in the City of New York," established in 1732, instruction was given in writing, Latin, and "all the Branches of the Mathematicks, Geometry, Algebra, Geography, Navigation, Merchants Book-Keeping after the most Perfect Manner."¹ David James Dove, in his "public Grammar School," in Philadelphia, 1759, taught English, writing, book-keeping, "practical Mathematics, consisting of some Books of the Elements of Euclid, Trigonometry, and practical Geometry," Greek, Latin, geography, rhetoric, poetry, history, moral philosophy, and physics.² These subjects appear in many institutions called "grammar" schools.³

This modification of the Latin school was but a step toward the development of the "English School," or the "English Grammar School:"

This is to give NOTICE

That John Lewis has opened an English-School, at the House of Mrs. Eastham, in Broad Street, near the Long-Bridge, in this City; where he teaches speaking, reading, spelling, and writing English, according to English Grammar; Arithmetic in all its Parts; vulgar and decimal Fractions, extracting the Square and Cube Roots, the Rule of Universal Proportion; Book-Keeping, Navigation, both

¹N. Y. Gazette, Jan. 7, 14, 1734.

²Pennsylvania Gazette, Aug. 2, 9, Sept. 6, 1759.

³N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Apr. 16, 30, May 7, 14, 1770. Peter Wilson, master of "the Grammar School," at Hackensack, N. J.: writing arithmetic, "the Languages, Mathematics, Book-Keeping, drawing Maps and Charts &c." Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., H. R., N. J., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, Nov. 4, 11, 25, Dec. 2, 1773. A "Grammar School," in Schenectady, N. Y.: Latin, Greek, English, rhetoric, logic, geography "with the use of the Globes," natural philosophy, astronomy, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, geometry, trigonometry, navigation.

Geometrical, Trigonometrical, Arithmetical, Instrumental, and by Inspection; or by a new Method whereby the whole Art is performed with only Pen and Ink, and all the Plain and Oblique Trigonometry are solved by natural Numbers, without the Help of any Book or Instrument; Gauging, Dialling, Surveying, Mensuration of Solids and Superficies; the Principles of Drawing and Perspective, and the Elements of Geography and Astronomy, with several other useful Branches of the Mathematics and Literature. He also draws and engrosses Bonds, Bills, Deeds, Leases, Releases, Mortgages, Indentures, Wills, &c. at reasonable Rates.

N.B. The said School is on the Footing of an Article subscribed to by the Employers, which specifies the several Branches of Learning proposed to be taught, with their Rates annexed; whereby the said John Lewis is limited to the Number of Thirty Scholars and on that Consideration his Price is raised above the common Rates. A Copy of the said Article may be seen by any Gentlemen who shall desire it.⁴

An "English School," more widely known than Lewis's, was opened at Princeton, in 1763, "under the Inspection of the President of New Jersey College, and as an Appendage to the same."⁵ In many instances, the "English School" was a division of an "academy."

A comprehensive announcement of the "English Grammar School" program was published, in 1774, by Thomas Byerley, and Josiah Day, of New York City:

THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR SCHOOL

It has been thought that, with boys of a tolerable genius, twelve years of age is a proper time to begin the study of Latin; but this, it is said must be determined by the extent of capacity. The undertaker of the school, with great deference, begs leave to suppose a greater equality in the genius and powers of children than is generally allowed; and that the apparent inequality proceeds from an early neglect in the cultivation of their faculties. He is of the opinion, if so perfect a mode of education could be established, that the opening gems of the young mind should be attentively watched for, tenderly cherished when observed and brought to full growth and vigor by wholesome exercise. If a child be suffered to advance to his twelfth year before he has been accustomed to the exertions of a grammar school, he will have contracted such an inactive disposition, and aversion to learning as the best masters are but rarely able to remove; and his natural powers, however extensive, will be so blunted and impaired, as will make it very difficult to restore them to their own vigor. On the other hand, if before that time, he is sent to learn Latin, inaccessible so young to arguments on its necessity for advancing himself among men, he spurns at the laborious talk, grows disgusted with it altogether, and, as Mr. Locke says "Tis ten to one abhors it all his life for the ill usage it procured him."

From an impartial view of these matters, it is presumed will appear the great utility, if not the absolute necessity, of an ENGLISH GRAMMAR SCHOOL, where the tender faculties may be improved by exercises more intelligible, consequently more likely to conciliate the youthful inclination, and where children may be taught the principles of grammar in their own language, with a very clear and familiar determination respecting all the grammatical terms.

⁴N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, June 4, 11, 25, July 9, 16, 23, 1753.

⁵N. Y. Mercury, Oct. 31, 1763.

Pennsylvania Gazette, May 31, 1764.

With this great and important object in view, the undertaker of this school first solicited the indulgence of the PUBLIC, and he flatters himself, he hath discharged his duty to the entire satisfaction of those who have been pleased to entrust him with the care of their children.

With respect to pronunciation, having an intimate acquaintance with the organical formation of the several sounds, he teaches THAT with as much certainty as others to strike the different musical notes on any instrument; and his method of reading he believes, is governed by a taste corrected and improved thro' many advantageous circumstances.

But, determined to render this school as extensively serviceable as possible, insomuch that the mere English scholar may at the same time be advancing in every useful branch of knowledge, which, however, would make it an undertaking far beyond the power of one man to execute with a conscientious exactness, he hath engaged the assistance of an excellent WRITING MASTER, who is likewise an ABLE MATHEMATICIAN; and this school will, therefore, in future be under the direction of

THOMAS BYERLEY
AND
JOSIAH DAY

Who propose to teach, in the following order, the several undermentioned Arts and Sciences.

READING, first with a view to correct all contracted ill-habits, and to lessen natural defects, as well as to inculcate the use of the pauses.

The names and proprieties of LETTERS, with their combination into syllables.

THE ELEMENTS OF COMPOSITION, as far as they regard the ordinary purposes of life, including the use of the Ellipsis and Transposition; instructions to avoid Tautology, and a mean or improper diction; with some general instructions for the attaining of a pure and elegant STYLE.

The useful and ornamental art of LETTER-WRITING will be particularly attended to in all its complicated branches; and the customs of the best academies in England, which frequently resolve their schools into several corresponding societies, will be adopted for this purpose.

A proper and elegant reading of the English Classics, with regard to EMPHASIS, CADENCE, and a JUST MODULATION of the voice to express the different passions and humours which occur in our best authors.

WRITING in all the useful and ornamental branches; as Common or Round Hand, Print, Secretary, Square Text, Chancery, Court, and the Italian hands.

ARITHMETIC, vulgar, decimal, and logarithmetical.

BOOK-KEEPING, after the Italian method, and the practices of the most regular Counting-Houses.

GEOMETRY.

MENSURATION of superficies and solids.

GAUGING, with the use of the Sliding Rule, Plain Scale, and Sector.

TRIGONOMETRY, plain and spherical, with its application to Altimetry and Longimetry.

SURVEYING.

NAVIGATION in its sundry kinds.

GUNNERY, FORTIFICATION, OPTICS.

COSMOGRAPHY and GEOGRAPHY.

DIALLING and PROJECTION of the SPHERE.

Principles of ASTRONOMY and NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, with the Use of the Globes.

ALGEBRA and FLUXIONS, or the New Geometry, by which the young Philomath may be enabled to investigate the higher and more abstruse parts of the NEWTONIAN MATHESIS; such as the Maxima and Minima of Quantities. the Quadrature of Curves, and Curve-lined spaces; the cubature of Solids; the finding of the centres of gravity and percussion; the laws of motion, and gravitation of bodies, Projectile and Central Forces. from which are deduced the elements of the PLANETARY MOTION; Theory of Pendulums, and Vibrating Chords; and others of the more refined parts of the PHYSICO-MECHANICAL MATHESIS.

The first Saturday in every month will be fixed on for a general examination, when those, who are inclined to think favorably of this plan, it is hoped, may be confirmed in their opinion; but any gentleman calling in the school hours any day may be informed of the decorum, oeconomy and mode of instruction.

Children from the country will be received, and lodged in a house of credit, where care shall be taken that the best examples be set before them, and proper provision made for them. The Undertakers will likewise, if required, provide them masters in the polite accomplishments of Music and Dancing.

The terms are half a Pistole entrance, and a Pistole a quarter.

The undertakers pledge themselves to the Public, that every part of this plan shall be faithfully carried into execution and beg leave to subscribe themselves

The Public's Devoted Servants,

Thomas Byerley,

Josiah Day.⁶

Schools of this type were much more popular than Latin schools in eighteenth century America. They offered courses for which there was a greater demand.

If the curricula reproduced above were submitted for identification to the average reader in the field of early American education, he would say, without hesitation, that they were "academy" curricula. But these particular schools were not called "academies," and may not be so called. We may not force upon them a name which they did not bear during their day. However, many schools which offered the same courses *were* labeled "academies" by those who founded them.

The curriculum announced for the opening of the Philadelphia Academy, in 1751, appears in the following advertisement:

NOTICE is hereby given, That the Trustees of the ACADEMY of Philadelphia, intend (God willing) to open the same on the first Monday of January next; wherein Youth will be taught the Latin, Greek, English, French, and German Languages, together with History, Geography, Chronology, Logic, and Rhetoric; also Writing, Arithmetic, Merchants Accounts, Geometry, Algebra, Surveying, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy, Drawing in Perspective, and other math-

⁶Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., H. R., N. J., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser, Feb. 24, Mar. 3, 10, 1774.

Mass. Gazette and Boston Weekly News Letter, Oct. 1, 15, 1772. An "English Grammar School," conducted by Joseph Ward, Boston.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Sept. 15, 1777. John M'Killop, N. Y.: "An English Grammar School is opened."

ematical Sciences; with natural and mechanical Philosophy, &c. agreeable to the Constitutions heretofore published, at the Rate of Four Pounds per annum, and Twenty Shillings entrance.⁷

This institution may have been the first to incorporate under the name "academy,"⁸ but it was not the first to offer the program of studies that is usually spoken of as the "academy" curriculum. It was antedated by a school established in New York City, in 1723:

There is a School in New York, in the Broad Street, near the Exchange where Mr. John Walton, late of Yale-Colledge, Teacheth Reading, Writing, Arithmatick, whole Numbers and Fractions, Vulgar and Decimal, The Mariners Art, Plain and Mercators Way; Also Geometry, Surveying, the Latin Tongue, and Greek and Hebrew Grammers, Ethicks, Rhetorick, Logick, Natural Philosophy and Metaphysicks, all or any of them for a Reasonable Price. The School from the first of October till the first of March will be tended in the Evening. If any Gentlemen in the Country are disposed to send their Sons to the said School, if they apply themselves to the Master he will immediately procure suitable Entertainment for them, very cheap. Also if any Young Gentleman of the City will please to come in the Evening and make some Tryal of the Liberal Arts, they may have opportunity of Learning the same Things which are commonly Taught in Colledges.⁹

Paul Monroe remarks that "The characteristic educational feature of the academies was the breadth of the curriculum."¹⁰ True, but this breadth of curriculum was also "the characteristic educational feature" of schools that were not called "academies."

College entrance requirements did not determine the curriculum of the grammar school, but only of the *Latin* grammar school. The Latin grammar school was not the only grammar school in colonial America. There was another, the English grammar school. It appeared in the larger cities, by the middle of the eighteenth century, in response to the need of an institution that prepared for "life," as well as for college. Most young men were (as they are now) destined to enter the vocations. Neither the colleges, nor the Latin grammar schools prepared for callings other than those of the minister and schoolmaster. Before the Revolution, the English grammar school played a larger part than the academy in meeting the popular demand for a "realistic," or practical curriculum.

⁷Pennsylvania Gazette, Dec. 18, 1750.

⁸Brown, E. E. *The Making of our Middle Schools* (N. Y., 1903), 190: "no such institution has thus far come to light, besides the one at Philadelphia, that was regularly incorporated under this designation previous to the breaking out of the Revolution."

⁹American Weekly Mercury, Oct. 17-24, 24-31, 31-Nov. 7, 1723.

¹⁰Monroe, P. *Principles of Secondary Education* (N. Y., 1914), 57.

CHAPTER X

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL IN COLONIAL AMERICA

In the extension of educational opportunities, the private schools played a unique part in colonial America. They were free to originate, and put into practice ideas that might effect improvements in their curricula and methods.¹ The masters sought always to keep strictly abreast of the needs of the time, for their livelihood depended on the success with which they met these needs. No such freedom or incentive was offered the masters of town schools.

The private schools rendered an important service in arranging their hours of instruction to suit the convenience of the students. One master, "for the conveniency of those who cannot attend at the common school hours . . . has begun to teach the above branches at the same prices, from six o'clock in the morning 'till eight; from 12 at noon 'till one, and from five in the afternoon 'till six."² In another instance, a similar schedule was announced: "It is imagined that this Plan may suit some of both Sexes who attend other Places of Education at different Periods for other Purposes."³ Evening classes were opened for "those who cannot come in the Day time," for "Persons as have not Leisure to attend at the customary School-Hours," or for "young men that are engaged in business in the day."⁴

¹In some of the announcements, the masters called attention to the fact that their methods of instruction were based on the theories expressed in the educational treatises of Barclay, Nelson, Locke, and Turnbull.

²N. Y. Mercury, May 12, 19, 1766. John Young.

³Ibid, Apr. 25, May 2, Nov. 21, 28, 1763. William Jones, N. Y.: "As Mr. Jones is resolved to leave no Means untried to be as extensively useful as in his Power, he proposes attending the said School from the Hours of Six to Eight o'Clock in the Morning, for the Instruction of such young Gentlemen whose confinement to Business may render it inconvenient for them to appropriate any other Part of the Day to that Purpose. He hath likewise set apart from Four to Six o'Clock in the Afternoon, for the Benefit of young Ladies who may be already advanced but not thoroughly perfect in Arithmetic, and the writing of English with good Orthography."

⁴N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Apr. 16, 23, 30, May 7, 14, 21, June 4, 1767. Hugh Hughes.

⁵Seybolt, R. F. *The Evening School in Colonial America* (Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, 1925).

These schools were open to all who could afford to pay the fees. Adults were offered an opportunity of learning the rudiments, or of continuing in the more advanced studies. Girls, too, were admitted to instruction beyond the "lower Branches," either in classes with boys, or in schools "for the instruction of Young Ladies only."

In none of the private schools of secondary grade was there a prescribed program of studies to be taken by all. Any student might pursue as many or as few subjects as he desired. The curriculum was on an elective basis, the student arranging the combination of subjects best suited to his purposes. Such freedom of election was unknown in the town grammar schools, and colleges of the period.

The private schools may have lacked the supervision of a central, or public authority; but that was an advantage, not a defect. The public character of such an authority made its oversight and management narrowly conservative. Not all private schools lacked supervision. Many were "on the Footing of an Article," or plan of administration and instruction. They were visited regularly by the members of a group of sponsors, or guarantors. Furthermore, many masters invited "parents and others" to attend the examinations, which came at scheduled intervals, and "be judges of the progress made."

They adapted their courses of instruction to the interests of the students. With their varied offerings, they may even have anticipated, or created public demand. Their programs were thoroughly up-to-date. The curricula of secondary schools established by towns, or religious corporations were designed chiefly to meet college-entrance requirements. The private schools not only satisfied the requirements of the colleges, but, in addition, offered theoretical and technical preparation for the vocations which demanded such training.

It is a significant fact in American education that the curriculum developed most rapidly in the private schools, that the curricular response to popular educational demands was initiated by private, rather than public enterprise. With the development of the economic life of the colonists, their vocational needs increased, and because most people were engaged in occupational activities, these needs were of more immediate importance than their purely cultural requirements.

In the hands of private schoolmasters the curriculum expanded rapidly. Their schools were commercial ventures, and, consequently, competition was keen. To succeed at all, they were obliged to keep pace with current educational needs, and to respond immediately to any expression of these needs. Popular demands, and the element of competition forced them not only to add new courses of instruction, but constantly to improve their methods and technique of instruction.

Town schools, and others supported by public money continued in their old accustomed ways. Their curricula resisted change. The public mind that conceived them could not react promptly to a developing environmental situation. Its consideration of the new problem was too deliberate, and conservative of traditional modes of thought and action. It did not allow the schoolmaster freedom to effect changes in a curriculum which it had designated.

Our indebtedness to the private schools of colonial America has not been fully appreciated. First to recognize, and first to respond to the educational needs of the people, they were the pioneers in the making of the liberal secondary curriculum of the present day.

APPENDIX A

“SOME THOUGHTS OF EDUCATION,” PHILADELPHIA, 1735¹

Some Thoughts of EDUCATION To render the Education of Youth more Easy and Effectual in respect to their Studies at School.

EDUCATION is indeed a Word of a very large Extent, and implies the whole Compass of Learning, every Thing a Youth may be instructed in; But certainly every Part is not applicable to every Person, and the Counting-House and Counter require different Qualifications from those which fit a Man for the Pulpit and Bar.

Yet notwithstanding the prevailing Method of Education at present, is without any Regard to the Child's Capacity, or Distinction, with respect to the future Figure he designs to make in the World, the present Method I say is, as soon as he can stammer over a Chapter in the Bible, and he has scarce lost the uncouth Tone of Pronunciation which he has perhaps learn'd of his Mistress, immediately to send the Boy to the *Latin* School, where instead of studying his own Language, and improving in the necessary Qualifications of reading it distinctly, and with proper Emphasis, he is unreasonably entered upon a *Latin Grammar*, and not only perplex'd with abstruse Terms of Art, but confounded with Rules wrote in a Language he is altogether a Stranger to. To learn an unknown Science in an unknown Tongue, must certainly be acknowledged an hardy Undertaking, even in a grown Person, with the utmost Application of his whole Thought and Reason: How much more difficult and unreasonable must it then be, for Children to go through the unaccountable Task? and whilst they Labour under the Load, to stand liable to the Lash for every Failure of Capacity, as well as Negligence of Duty! But the whole of the Objection is not against the difficulty of the Study, it is often times as fruitless as it is difficult; for after it may be several Years Pains are past, the Youth either discourag'd by experienc'd Hardships, or determined by his Friend's Inclinations, his Studies are suddenly chang'd, and he is immediately remov'd

¹American Weekly Mercury, Dec. 31-Jan. 7, Jan. 7-14, 1735.

to the Writing-School, to be qualified for Trade or other Business; where entirely neglecting his former Applications, the Latin he has learn'd is lost; and for all his Time and Labour past, he is perhaps unable to give the Sence of a Motto or Inscription; nay it may be is still incapable of Reading or Writing English.

To remedy these inconveniences, I would therefore recommend it to those, who have the Care of Children, to observe betimes their Inclinations, and Capacities, and as soon as possible come to a Resolution how they intend to place them in the World; for tho' it is not possible so soon to fix upon any distinct Trade, or Profession, yet they may and ought early to determine whether they intend them for Scholars, Clerks, or Tradesmen, that they may receive their Education accordingly.

As for those who are to be brought up Scholars, I would only observe that if before they were perplex'd with Latin, they were taught the Grounds of Grammar in the English Tongue; they would make their Advances in that Language with more Ease and Success, and give their Latin Masters less Trouble and more Credit: To that End they should learn an *English* Rudiment, built upon the Method of the *Latin* Grammar, by which the Learner may not only come to the perfect Knowledge of his Mother Tongue, but be also fitly prepared for the Study of other Languages, more especially the *Latin*: For Grammar is not, as it is too often conceived to be, only an Appendix to *Latin* and *Greek*, but is of itself an absolute Science; teaching the Nature and Distinction of Words, and the justness and propriety of Speech, and consists, like other Sciences, of several general Principles, applicable to all Languages of the Universe; every one therefore should learn the Grammar of his own Language first, to make him the more perfect in it.

Writing and *Accompts* are the very Profession of Clerks, and therefore to be wanting either of these, is to be deficient in Essentials, and unworthy of the very Name of a Clerk: Nor is it sufficient barely to write a fair Character. A Clerk should have an easy Freedom in his Hand, a bold Stroke with his Pen, and the Skill and Command of striking a neat Capital, or proper Ornament, by which Means he will not only be able to do his Business without Difficulty but also make it appear to Advantage.

'Tis a common thing for a young Man who wrote very tolerably at the Writing School, immediately upon his Entrance into Business, to lose his Hand, occasioned by his falling from a slow way of Prac-

tice, to attempt Dispatch; but if either at the Time of their Learning, they were brought by Degrees, from set Copys, and Pieces, to write after larger Specimens, and real Presidents, or on their first Entrance into Business, &c., they would themselves have the Prudence, carefully, and leisurely to copy what is given them, and leave it to Time and Practice to render them Ready and Expeditious, they would find the Benefit of it, and have their Diligence crown'd with Success.

Arithmetic is more the Business of the Head than Hand, and he that proposes himself for a Clerk or Accomptant, ought to have a perfect Understanding of it, for what Satisfaction can a Man take, in doing what he doth not understand? and how must he be out of Countenance, if call'd upon for an Explanation? Whereas he that works with Knowledge, and can render a Reason for what he doth, not only goes on with Certainty and Pleasure to himself, but to the Satisfaction of others: Besides he who is Master of the Theory, and whose Business puts him upon constant Practice, can hardly fail of adding new Improvements of his own, to the Discoveries of others in that excellent Art.

The next necessary Qualification of a Clerk or Accomptant, is that excellent Art of Italian Book-Keeping, A Science that needs not the Praise of Words, and without which a Man is fit neither for the Cabinet, or Compting House, and indeed People seem more sensible of its Value than ever, by the many that are instructed therein.

Having thus consider'd the proper Attainments of those who are intended Clerks, &c. I now proceed to point out what is the proper Method of preparing those who are design'd for Trades; And here I hope I shall be excus'd if I entirely declare against such Children losing their Time about Latin.

Grammar, which is the only thing they can propose thereby to learn, may more easily and effectually be taught them in their Mother Tongue, and for the general receiv'd Notion that there is no attaining to Spelling English, without learning Latin; it is an Observation false in Fact, and no better than a Vulgar Error. 'Tis true the Latin Scholar by his daily reading and constant perusal of Books, can hardly fail of improving himself in that Respect; but then it is not because what he studies is Latin, but the same Application to English Authors would produce a greater Effect; for the main Difficulty of Spelling, is not in those Words deriv'd from the Latin Tongue; which are of all others most easily spell'd, by reason no superfluous Letters are therein used, every Letter having its full

Power, and every Syllable writ as sounded, whilst the Chief Difficulty is really found in those Words, which are merely English or Saxon Original; if therefore we must needs learn some other Language to teach us to spell English, it ought certainly to be the old Saxon, not the Latin.

Another Plea for the necessity of learning Latin, is that without it we cannot understand the many English Words thence deriv'd; but if it be necessary to learn Latin for understanding the Words borrow'd from that Language, it must be consequently also necessary to learn Greek, for the same Reason; and thus this Necessity of becoming Etimologists, will lead us through all the Twelve Languages from which Skinner in his Dictionary deduces our Speech; but above all we must again be referred to the Old Saxon, from whence almost all our Monosyllables, and the greatest Number of our other primitive Words are derived.

But it should be objected that a Youth will have Time to learn more Things before he go Apprentice; I answer there are other things an English Scholar may be instructed in as Geography, Chronology, History, and above all a good Narrative Style or a Facility of Expressing himself handsomely by Letters; and these sure are Parts of Knowledge, which will turn to much more Account, than all Lilly's Rule and Exceptions; and will make him more capable of Conversation, as well as Business, than if his Head were furnished with a few Latin Words and Phrases, which he would soon forget, or perhaps never have Occasion to make Use of; for Latin being a dead Language, and spoke nowhere as a Mother Tongue, renders it unnecessary to most People.

If whilst young Men are learning these several Accomplishments they are remov'd from the Writing School, it will be necessary before they go out to Business, they should return again, both to brighten up their Writing, and to furnish them in Accompts; which last as it is the soonest of all other things forgot, without Practice, so it should always be the last Attainment.

To corroborate the foregoing the Testimony of the judicious Locke is here added. "Custom which is so prevalent, hath made Latin so much a part of Education, that even those Children are clap'd to it, and may spend many Hours of their precious Time uneasily in Latin, who after they are once gone from School, are never to do with it as long as they live." Can there be anything more Rediculous, than that a Father should waste his own Money and his Sons Time,

in setting him to learn the Roman Language, when at the same Time he designs him for a Trade, Wherein he having no use for Latin, fails not to forget that little which he brought from School, when 'tis Ten to one he abhors for the ill Usage it procured him. Could it be Believ'd? unless we had everywhere among us Examples of it, that a Child should be forc'd to learn the Rudiments of a Language, which he is never to Use in that Course of Life he is design'd to, and neglect the Writing of a good Hand, and Accompts: which are of great Advantage in all Conditions of Life, and to most Trades indispensibly necessary. But though these Qualifications requisite to Trade, Commerce, and the Business of the World, are seldom or never to be had at Grammar-Schools, yet thither not only Gentlemen send their younger Sons, designed for Trades, but even Tradesmen and Farmers fail not to send their Children, although they have neither Intention nor Ability to make them Scholars; if you ask them why they do this, they think it as strange a Question, as if you should ask them why you go to Church: Custom serves for Reason, and has to those who take it for Reason, so established this Method, that it is almost religiously observed by them, and they stick to it, as if their Children had scarce an Orthodox Education unless they learn'd Lilly's Grammar.

APPENDIX B

FIFTY SCHOOLS IN BOSTON, NEW YORK, AND PHILADELPHIA, IN WHICH BOOK-KEEPING, NAVIGATION, AND SURVEYING WERE TAUGHT DURING THE YEARS 1709-1758

(If the period, for these cities were extended to 1775, and the list expanded to include other cities and towns in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, and in the colonies of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, it would contain 200 names.)

1. Owen Harris (Boston, 1709), navigation, surveying.
2. John Green (Boston, 1709), book-keeping, navigation.
3. Allane Jarratt (N. Y., 1712), navigation.
4. Browne Tymms (Boston, 1718), book-keeping.
5. John Walton (N. Y., 1723), navigation, surveying.
6. Samuel Grainger (Boston, 1724-27), book-keeping, navigation.
7. Charles Lewis (Boston, 1730), book-keeping.
8. James Lyde (N. Y., 1730), navigation, surveying.
9. George Brownell (N. Y., 1731), book-keeping.
10. Andrew Lamb (Phila., 1733-55), book-keeping, navigation, surveying.
11. Theophilus Grew (Phila., 1734-53), book-keeping, navigation, surveying.
12. Alexander Malcolm (N. Y., 1732-38), book-keeping, navigation.
13. Joseph Kent (Boston, 1735), navigation, surveying.
14. William Robins (Phila., 1737), book-keeping.
15. Isaac Greenwood (Boston, 1739), navigation, surveying.
16. James Foddey (N. Y., 1740), book-keeping.
17. Thomas Godfrey (Phila., 1740), navigation.
18. John Campbell (N. Y., 1741), book-keeping.
19. Nathaniel Buller (Phila., 1742), book-keeping, navigation.
20. James Fox (Phila., 1743), navigation, surveying.
21. Nathan Prince (Boston, 1743), navigation, surveying.
22. Charles Fortesque (Phila., 1743), book-keeping, navigation, surveying.

23. N. Walton, and W. Hetherington (Phila., 1745), book-keeping.
24. Joseph Blanchard (N. Y., 1747), book-keeping, navigation, surveying.
25. George Bingham (N. Y., 1747), navigation.
26. Henry Moore (N. Y., 1747), navigation, surveying.
27. Cornelius Linch (N. Y., 1748), book-keeping, navigation, surveying.
28. John Leach (Boston, 1749), navigation.
29. Richard Smith (N. Y., 1750), book-keeping, navigation.
30. Michael C. Knoll (N. Y., 1750), book-keeping.
31. Gabriel Wayne (N. Y., 1750), navigation.
32. Archibald M'Euen (N. Y., 1750), book-keeping.
33. William Milne (Phila., 1751), navigation.
34. John N. Hutchins (N. Y., 1751-72), book-keeping, navigation.
35. J. P. Ostome (N. Y., 1751), book-keeping.
36. B. Leigh, and G. Noel (N. Y., 1751), book-keeping, navigation.
37. Robert Leeth (N. Y., 1751-55), book-keeping, navigation, surveying.
38. Nicholas Barrington (N. Y., 1752-57), book-keeping, navigation.
39. Thomas Allen (N. Y., 1752), book-keeping, navigation, surveying.
40. William Dawson, (Phila., 1753-55), book-keeping, navigation.
41. John Lewis (N. Y., 1753-54), book-keeping, navigation, surveying.
42. Joseph Stiles (Phila., 1754-57), book-keeping, navigation.
43. James Cosgrove (Phila., 1755-57), book-keeping, navigation, surveying.
44. James Wragg (N. Y., 1755-56), book-keeping, navigation, surveying.
45. John Searson (N. Y., 1755-57), book-keeping, navigation, surveying.
46. Thomas Johnson (N. Y., 1756), book-keeping.
47. William Ranstead (Phila., 1756), navigation, surveying.
48. James Farrill (N. Y., 1756), book-keeping, navigation, surveying.
49. Andrew Morton (Phila., 1757), book-keeping.
50. William Thorne (Phila., 1757-66), book-keeping, navigation, surveying.

